

Black's School History.

ENGLISH HISTORY ILLUSTRATED
FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

VOLUMES IN THIS SERIES.

- 1216-1307.—By NORMAN L. FRAZER, B.A. Cantab., M.A.
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Other Volumes in Preparation.

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ILLUSTRATED
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1485—1603

BY

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SCOPE OF THE SERIES

THE time has long gone by when it could be said, as it was said by the Public Schools Commission of 1864, that, 'to gain an elementary knowledge of history, little more is required than some sustained, but not very laborious, efforts of memory'; or that 'it may, therefore, be acquired easily and without any mental exercise of much value.' On the other hand, it is now well recognised that the teaching of history by mere memorizing is useless, and that it is precisely as a mental exercise that history is of the greatest possible value. But many mental exercises may be comparatively dull and mechanical, and unless the pupil can take a very active share in the process, his reading of history will not greatly develop his reasoning powers. The plan of the present series is so laid that interest in the text-book or in the teacher's words is stimulated by supplementary reading, and sufficient premises are given to allow of a reasonable and reasoning deduction. The extracts are taken from contemporary authors, or are themselves contemporary documents, and have been chosen to illustrate as fairly and as vividly as possible the really important events of the period, and to explain the motives of the chief actors.

It is not suggested that the present volumes should supersede a good text-book; it is hoped that they will supplement the text-book, of which even the best can offer only a meagre description of the most interesting events, and must almost inevitably fail to reproduce the essential atmosphere—literary and social—which is, after all, often the most important element in the study of history.

For the most part the extracts appear in chronological order, and can therefore be used with the date analysis given at the end of each volume. In the earlier periods it has been thought well to modernize and otherwise simplify archaic English; but occasionally an exact transcript is given, as being in itself a useful illustration. Translations throughout are original except where otherwise stated. The authorities quoted in the text are summarized for each period, and their comparative value indicated; while a short working bibliography—contemporary and modern—is added, so that the pupil may proceed to a fuller study of any special aspect in which he is interested. Nearly all the volumes are divided into two parts, so that, if required, parts of separate volumes may be bound together, or shorter periods may be studied. Finally, the illustrations have been chosen with great care, and with the special object of throwing light upon the social life and development of the period. Maps, too, sometimes specially drawn for this series, have been inserted wherever necessary.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

THE Wars of the Roses had left England weary, if not exhausted. If in a sense the dynastic struggle had not pressed so heavily upon the nation at large as might have been expected, yet its inevitable consequence was a feeling of insecurity, not unmixed with resentment against interference with a new commercial development. If England was to have a fair start in the race that seemed to promise her prosperity, she must have peace and quiet at home. The middle classes especially were prepared to sacrifice a good deal rather than turn aside from the new courses in trade and commerce which had already brought them such good fortune. A strong Government was too valuable for them to make it worth their while to criticise the details of its methods—especially when in practice the inconveniences of despotism fell on other shoulders. Besides, the tyranny of kings was better than the tyranny of nobles. The new royal house could reckon, too, not only on the acquiescence of the middle classes, but on the impoverishment and weakness of the older nobility, caused by the wars themselves. Even the

condition of the mass of the people made for strong and independent administration, for the introduction of sheep-farming led to a large increase of pauperism, which was only aggravated by the turning loose of large numbers of retainers after the wars.

Lord Macaulay has rightly called the rule of the Tudors 'a popular government under the forms of despotism,' for if the despotism was unmistakable—benevolences, religious persecution, disregard and bullying of Parliament—so, too, was the sovereign's concern for the material well-being of the mass of his subjects, as is shown by the establishment of the Star Chamber and the restoration of our prestige on the Continent. Of the personal popularity of the princes there is no doubt whatever, and the reason probably was that Englishmen thought that they might justly consider them as embodiments of their own views and aspirations; nay, more, their very violence, as Lord Macaulay points out, was accepted with a kind of pride, because it typified a national resistance to foreign interference.

To leave the general aspect of the transition, it has even been said that if 'the Parliament in the days of Henry VII. was weak, yet the classes to whom its members belonged had a policy, and the king carried it out.' And it is at least permissible to say that Henry VIII.'s Reform Parliament was carrying out not the king's wishes alone; for it must be remembered that this same king had to withdraw his proposed taxation when his Parliament protested.

In a period full of new tendencies in every department of affairs it is impossible, in a short introduction, to give any indication of their importance.

Such absorbing matters of interest as England's maintenance of the balance of power in Europe, and the introduction of sheep-farming with results not yet spent, must be passed over; but there is one matter of such unique importance—the Reformation—that one word must be said. The influence of this movement upon the history of our country cannot be exaggerated, and it is therefore necessary to have clear ideas about its nature. Its *origin* in England was personal and political, and each party in its hour of triumph abused its power. In the second part of this book we shall have to trace its further progress; here we have to indicate its origin, and to prepare the ground for consideration of its methods and the social distress and religious unquiet which they occasioned.

ENGLISH HISTORY FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

1485—1547

PART I

1. ARCHBISHOP MORTON.

More's 'Utopia' (in Arber's reprints), 36.
Spelling Modernized. (1516.)

'I PRAY you, Sir,' quoth I, 'have you been in our country?' 'Yea, forsooth,' quoth he, 'and there I tarried for the space of four or five months together, not long after the insurrection that the western Englishmen made against their king, which by their own miserable and pitiful slaughter was suppressed and ended. In the mean season I was much bound and beholding to the right reverend father, John Morton, archbishop and cardinal of Canterbury, and at that time also lord chancellor of England: a man Master Peter (for Master More knoweth already that I will say) not more honourable for his authority than for his prudence and virtue. He was of a mean stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his body upright. In his face did shine such an amiable reverence as was pleasant to behold,

gentle in communication, yet earnest and sage. He had great delight many times with rough speech to his suitors to prove, but without harm, what prompt wit and what bold spirit were in every man; in the which as in a virtue much agreeing with his nature, so that therewith were not joined impudency, he took great delectation. And the same person, as apt and meet to have an administration in the weal public, he did lovingly embrace. In his speech he was fine, eloquent, and pithy. In the law he had profound knowledge, in wit he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellent. These qualities, which in him were by nature singular, he by learning and use had made perfect. The king put much trust in his counsel, the weal public also in a manner leaned unto him, when I was there. For even in the chief of his youth he was taken from school into the court, and there passed all his time in much trouble and business, being continually tumbled and tossed in the waves of divers misfortunes and adversities. And so by many and great dangers he learned the experience of the world, which so being learned can not safely be forgotten.'

2. LAMBERT SIMNEL'S REBELLION.

1487.

Translated from Latin of Bernard André's
'Vita Henrici VII.,' p. 49 [Rolls]. (*Circa*
1502.)

The question of the deplorable death of King Edward's sons was again raised, and another rebellion was plotted by traitors; and to cover their tale with

falsehood, they had the villainy to set up a low-born youth, the son of a baker or tailor, as the son of Edward IV. So presumptuous are they that, in their hatred for their king, they have no further fear of God or man. Therefore, as a result of their treachery, the news was spread that Edward's second son had been crowned king in Ireland. And when these tidings had been brought to the king, he with his great shrewdness made full investigations; he instituted inquiries as to how he had been brought to Ireland and by whom, the place of his upbringing, where he had lived so long, his associates, and many other questions of a similar kind. Different agents were sent as required by the different inquiries, and at last . . . one was sent over who claimed that he would easily know him, if indeed he were the prince. Simnel, however, had by this time been artfully trained by those who were familiar with the days of King Edward, and made ready answers to all the agent's questions. At length, to make a short story of it, owing to the misrepresentations of his advisers, he was believed by many of the shrewdest of men to be King Edward's son, and this belief was so strongly held that some did not hesitate to die for him. See what follows. The ignorance and blindness—I will not say the presumption and malice—of even men of noble rank, reached such a pitch at that time that the earl of Lincoln did not hesitate to believe the same story. And holding him to be Edward's own offspring; the lady Margaret, widow of Charles, late duke of Burgundy, and Edward's sister, sent him letters summoning him to her court; and he set out thither in secret flight with all speed, but few knowing

anything about such treachery. So, to be brief, by her assistance and advice, the Irish and men of the North are instigated to rebel. Accordingly, an army of Germans and Irish is got together, always with the help of the lady Margaret, and they soon cross to England and call upon the Northern shires. . . And now the royal army was drawing near the barbarians' ranks ; and they were drawn up on the crest of a hill, awaiting our advance. But the Lord God of vengeance, in punishment for their unrighteous wrath, sent down a sudden storm of wind . . . as they were fighting, and our troop, who were supposed to be losing, utterly defeated them. Then on a sudden the shout, ' King Henry ! ' resounded to the skies, the bugles blaring the while, and filled the listeners with joy. The poor fools' sorry princelet, who, as I said before, had been crowned in Ireland, was there taken in battle ; and when he was asked by what presumption he had dared to undertake such an enterprise, he did not deny that he had been compelled to do so by some rascals like himself. And on being further questioned as to the degree of his family and parents, he confessed that they had all been of low estate, and pursued low callings unworthy of mention in this history. However, the earl of Lincoln made a worthy end, for he fell on the field of battle, as did also many others ; and among them, their leader and chief, Martin Swart, a most brilliant soldier, fell fighting bravely.

3. THE COURT OF STAR CHAMBER.

1487.

Lord Bacon, 'History of King Henry VII.,'
ed. Lumby, p. 15. (1621.)

According to the lord chancellor's admonition, there were that parliament divers excellent laws ordained, concerning the points which the king recommended.

First, the authority of the star-chamber, which before subsisted by the ancient common laws of the realm, was confirmed in certain cases by act of parliament. This court is one of the sagest and noblest institutions of this kingdom. For in the distribution of courts of ordinary justice, there was nevertheless always reserved a high and pre-eminent power to the king's council, in causes that might in example or consequence concern the state of the commonwealth; and if they were criminal, the council used to sit in the chamber called the star-chamber; if civil, in the white chamber or white-hall. And as the chancery had the Pretorian powers for equity, so the star-chamber had the Censorian powers for offences under the degree of capital. This court of star-chamber is compounded of good elements, for it consisteth of four kinds of persons—counsellors, peers, prelates and chief judges. It discerneth also principally of four kinds of causes—forces, frauds, crimes various of stellionate [fraudulence], and the inchoations or middle acts towards crimes capital or heinous, not actually committed or perpetrated. But that which was principally aimed

at by this act was force, and the two chief supports of force, combination of multitudes and maintenance or headship of great persons.

4. COLUMBUS AND HENRY VII.

1488.

Translated by R. Hakluyt from Ferdinand Columbus's 'Life of Christopher Columbus.' 'Hakluyt's Voyages,' vii. 137.

Christopher Columbus, fearing lest if the king of Castile in like manner—as the king of Portugal had done—should not condescend unto his enterprise, he should be enforced to offer the same again to some other prince, and so much time should be spent therein, sent into England a certain brother of his which he had with him, whose name was Bartholomew Columbus, who, albeit he had not the Latin tongue, yet nevertheless was a man of experience and skilful in sea causes, and could very well make sea cards and globes and other instruments belonging to that profession, as he was instructed by his brother. Wherefore after that Bartholomew Columbus was departed for England, his luck was to fall into the hands of pirates, which spoiled him with the rest of them which were in the ship which he went in. Upon which occasion, and by reason of his poverty and sickness which cruelly assaulted him in a country so far distant from his friends, he deferred his embassy for a long while, until such time as he had gotten somewhat handsome about him with making of sea cards. At length he began to deal with King Henry the seventh, the

father of Henry the eighth, which reigneth at this present : unto whom he presented a map of the



HENRY VII.

From the painting in the National Gallery, London.

world, wherein these verses were written, which I found among his papers : and I will here set them down, rather for their antiquity than for their goodness :

‘Thou which desirest easily the coasts of lands to know,
 This comely map right learnedly the same to thee will shew ;
 Which Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, and Isodore maintain ;
 Yet, for all that, they do not all in one accord remain.
 Here also is set down the late discovered burning zone
 By Portingals, unto the world which whilom was unknown,
 Whereof the knowledge now at length through all the world
 is blown.’

For the author or the drawer :

‘He, whose dear native soil hight stately Genua,
 Even he whose name is Bartholomew Colon de Terra Rubra,
 The year of Grace, a thousand and four hundred and four
 score
 And eight, and on the thirteenth day of February more,
 In London published this work. To Christ all laud therefore.’

. . . But to return to the king of England, I say that after he had seen the map, and that which my father Christopher Columbus offered unto him, he accepted the offer with joyful countenance, and sent to call him into England. But because God had reserved the said offer for Castile, Columbus was gone in the mean space, and also returned with the performance of his enterprise, as hereafter in order shall be rehearsed. . . .

5. HENRY, BRITTANY, AND BENEVOLENCES.

1490.

Edward Hall's ‘Chronicle’ (ed. 1809),
 p. 451. *Died* 1547.

[After the marriage of the French king with Anne, duchess of Brittany] King Henry still patiently forbearing and suffering till such time that he perceived more plainly what way the world went ; and understanding, before the return of his ambassadors, that

the Frenchmen meant none other but plain guile, fraud and deceit, determined no more with peaceable legations but with open war to finish and determine all controversies and displeasures between him and the French king. Wherefore he summoned his court of parliament, and there declared first the cause why he was justly provoked to make war against the French king, and after desired them of their benevolent aid of men and money for the maintenance of the same. The cause of this battle every man did allow and approbate, and to the setting forth of the same, promised their industry, labour, and all that they could make. The king commending them for their true and loving hearts, to the intent he might not aggravate the common people with paying of great taxes and sums of money—whom his mind was ever to keep in favour—would first exact money by a little and a little of the benevolent mind of the rich sort; and this kind of exaction was first excogitated by King Edward III. Therefore he consulted with his friends, to invent how to gather together a great sum of money, and published abroad that by their open gifts he would measure and search their benevolent hearts and loving minds towards him, so that he that gave most should be judged to be most loving friend, and he that gave little to be esteemed according to his gift. So by this means the king gathered innumerable sums of money, with some grudge of the people for the extremity shown by the commissioners in divers places.

When he had thus [in the following year] gathered and assembled his army, he sailed to Calais the sixth day of October, and there encamped himself, tarrying

there a certain space to see his men harnessed and apparelled, that neither weapon nor any engine necessary for his journey should be neglected. At which place all the army had knowledge by the ambassadors, which were newly returned out of Flanders—for they did not know of it before—that Maximilian could make no preparation for lack of money, and therefore there was no succour to be expected at his hand. . . .

The king of England maturely considering that Brittany was clearly lost, and in manner irrecoverable, being now adjoined to the crown of France by marriage, which duchy his whole mind was to defend, protect and confirm, and that Maximilian, what for lack of money, and what for mistrust that he had in his own subjects, lay still like a dormouse nothing doing; perceiving also that it should be both to his people profitable, and to him great honour to determine this war without loss or bloodshed. . . .

When the commissioners were once met, they so ingeniously and effectively proceeded in their great affairs, that they agreed that an amity and peace should be assented to and concluded, so that the conditions of the league should be equal, indifferent and acceptable to both parties. . . .

6. THE TREATY OF ÉTAPLES.

1492.

Lord Bacon's 'History of King Henry VII.,'
ed. Lumby, p. 102. (1621.)

Meanwhile a peace was concluded by the commissioners, to continue for both the kings' lives;

where there was no article of importance ; being in effect rather a bargain than a treaty. For all things remained as they were, save that there should be paid to the king seven hundred forty-five thousand ducats in present, for his charges in that journey, and five and twenty thousand crowns yearly, for his charges sustained in the aid of the Britons. . . . There was also assigned by the French king, unto all the king's principal counsellors, great pensions, besides rich gifts for the present. Which whether the king did permit, to save his own purse from rewards, or to communicate the envy of a business, that was displeasing to his people, was diversely interpreted. For certainly the king had no great fancy to own this peace. And therefore a little before it was concluded, he had under-hand procured some of his best captains and men of war to advise him to a peace, under their hands in an earnest manner, in the nature of a supplication. But the truth is, this peace was welcome to both kings. To Charles, for that it assured unto him the possession of Brittany, and freed the enterprise of Naples. To Henry, for that it filled his coffers ; and that he foresaw at that time a storm of inward troubles coming upon him, which presently after broke forth. But it gave no less discontent to the nobility and principal persons of the army, who had many of them sold or engaged their estates upon the hopes of the war. . . . And some made themselves merry with that the king had said in parliament : ' That after the war was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay itself ; ' saying, he had kept promise.

7. PERKIN WARBECK.

1492.

Translated from Latin of Bernard
André's 'Vita Henrici VII.,' p. 65.
[Rolls.] (*Circa* 1502.)

The common saying is true, that envy never dies. Indeed, in the shameless business I am about to relate this is clearer than day. For, with all due respect to her royal lineage, Margaret of Burgundy, a second Juno to our king, with her long-standing great hatred still unsated, planned a new and unheard-of undertaking against him; and she tried—so undying is a woman's anger—to inculcate her own unquenchable hatred in our king's subjects. But her poison could influence only the fickle and worthless. And among them his majesty's French secretary, Stephen Frion, corrupted by the poison of a woman's suggestions, deserted his king and took to flight with some underlings of his class and worked against the king to the best of his power. But his efforts proved fruitless: he was punished by the hardest trials. Many conspirators belonging to this faction were at that time mentioned; but it would take too long to give all their names. However, they set up one Perkin, a native of Tournay, brought up in England by a Jew named Edward, to whom King Edward had stood godfather; and they gave out that Perkin was the younger son of King Edward IV. And pretending that he had been educated in various countries, they at last, on Frion's advice, brought him to France, to the court of Charles VIII. Indeed, it is said that in order to frighten our king, they summoned him from Ireland, by splendid promises. But

when he saw that his business had scant success with the French he was recalled by our Juno and went to Flanders. Afterwards a fair wind took him to Ireland to be crowned, and by his artful representations he gained over a considerable part of that island of savages. For he retailed and of a ready memory repeated all the history of the times of Edward IV., and told from memory the names of all his friends and servants, as he had been taught and learnt to do from his earliest years. Moreover, he added circumstances of place, time, and persons, whereby he very easily persuaded their uncritical minds. . . . At length, by the craft and treachery of his evil advisers, it was arranged that he should sail from Flanders with all speed for England; and particularly at that time, because the king was then occupied in the distant parts of his realm far away from Kent. Therefore all preparations were made, and at Juno's expense an armed fleet sent to land in Kent, and its commanders, soldiers of repute, entrusted themselves to the fortune of the sea. The men of Kent, who had been recently punished, were afraid, and at first hesitated, and some reflected on their treatment for their late conspiracy; for shortly before, so it is said, they had pretended that Christ and His apostles had returned to earth, and had thus seduced the ignorant peasants; but their punishment had been in keeping with what they had done. And so after this fleet came near their coasts, they with one accord decided to repulse the king's enemies. After taking counsel then they at first welcomed them cordially on land and promised to help them with arms. However, Perkin's ship, owing, it is said, to

contrary winds, or, as some prefer to think, because he now suspected treachery, had remained at a distance. And when it heard that the others had been captured, it sought safety in flight.

8. POYNINGS' LAW.

1494.

Lord Bacon's 'History of King Henry VII.,'
ed. Lumby, p. 127. (1621.)

Meanwhile the king did not neglect Ireland, being the soil where these mushrooms and upstart weeds, that spring up in a night, did chiefly prosper. He sent, therefore, from hence, for the better settling of his affairs there, commissioners of both robes;* the prior of Lanthony, to be his chancellor in that kingdom, and sir Edward Poynings, with a power of men and a martial commission, together with a civil power, as his lieutenant, with a clause, that the earl of Kildare, then deputy, should obey him. But the wild Irish, who were the principal offenders, fled into the woods and bogs, after their manner; and those that knew themselves guilty in the pale fled to them. So that sir Edward Poynings was enforced to make a wild chase upon the wild Irish; where, in respect of the mountains and fastnesses, he did little good. Which, either out of a suspicious melancholy upon his bad success, or the better to save his service from disgrace, he would needs impute unto the comfort that the rebels should receive underhand from the earl of Kildare; every light suspicion growing upon the earl, in respect of the Kildare that was in

* *I.e.*, of the army and of the law.

the action of Lambert Simnel, and slain at Stokefield. Wherefore he caused the earl to be apprehended, and sent into England; where, upon examination, he cleared himself so well, as he was replaced in his government. But Poynings, the better to make compensation of the meagreness of his service in the wars by acts of peace, called a parliament, where was made that memorable act, which at this day is called Poynings' law, whereby all the statutes of England were made to be of force in Ireland: for before they were not, neither are any now in force in Ireland which were made in England since that time.

9. STATUTE OF TREASON.

1495. Lord Bacon's 'History of King Henry VII.,'
ed. Lumby, p. 133. (1621.)

The principal law that was made this parliament was a law of a strange nature; rather just than legal; and more magnanimous than provident. This law did ordain: that no person that did assist in arms, or otherwise, the king for the time being, should after be impeached therefor, or attainted, either by the course of the law, or by act of parliament. But if any such act of attainder did happen to be made, it should be void and of none effect; for that it was agreeable to reason of estate, that the subject should not inquire of the justness of the king's title, or quarrel; and that it was agreeable to good conscience, that, whatsoever the fortunes of the war were, the subject should not suffer for his obedience. The spirit of this law was wonderful

pious and noble, being like, in matter of war, unto the spirit of David in matter of plague; who said, *If I have sinned, strike me; but what have these sheep done?* Neither wanted this law parts of prudent and deep foresight: for it did the better take away occasion for the people to busy themselves to pry into the king's title; for that howsoever it fell, their safety was already provided for. Besides, it could not but greatly draw unto him the love and hearts of the people, because he seemed more careful for them than for himself. But yet nevertheless it did take off from his party that great tie and spur of necessity, to fight and go victors out of the field; considering their lives and fortunes were put in safety and protected, whether they stood to it, or ran away. But the force and obligation of this law was in itself illusory, as to the latter part of it, by a precedent act of parliament to bind or frustrate a future. . . . But things that do not bind, may satisfy for the time.

10. A FOREIGN VIEW OF ENGLAND.

‘Venetian Relation,’ translated for
Camden Society, p. 20. (*Circa*
1498.)

The English are, for the most part, both men and women of all ages, handsome and well-proportioned; though not quite so much so, in my opinion, as it had been asserted to me, before your Magnificence went to that kingdom; and I have understood from persons acquainted with these countries that the Scotch are much handsomer; and that the English are great

lovers of themselves, and of everything belonging to them ; they think that there are no other men than themselves, and no other world but England : and whenever they see a handsome foreigner, they say that ‘ he looks like an Englishman,’ and that ‘ it is a great pity that he should ~~not~~ be an Englishman ’ ; and when they partake of any delicacy with a foreigner, they ask him, ‘ whether such a thing is made in *their* country ?’ They take great pleasure in having a quantity of excellent victuals, and also in remaining a long time at table, being very sparing of wine when they drink it at their own expense ; . . . and they think that no greater honour can be conferred or received than to invite others to eat with them, or to be invited themselves ; and they would sooner give five or six ducats to provide an entertainment for a person, than a groat to assist him in any distress.

They all from time immemorial wear very fine clothes, and are extremely polite in their language ; which, although it is as well as the Flemish derived from the German, has lost its natural harshness, and is pleasing enough as they pronounce it. In addition to their civil speeches, they have the incredible courtesy of remaining with their heads uncovered with an admirable grace, whilst they talk to each other. They are gifted with good understandings, and are very quick at everything they apply their minds to ; few, however, excepting the clergy, are addicted to the study of letters ; and this is the reason why anyone who has learning, though he may be a layman, is called by them a *Clerk*. And yet they have great advantages for study, there being two

general Universities in the kingdom, Oxford and Cambridge; in which are many colleges founded for the maintenance of poor scholars. And your Magnificence lodged at one named Magdalen, in the University of Oxford, of which the founders having been prelates, so the scholars are also ecclesiastics.

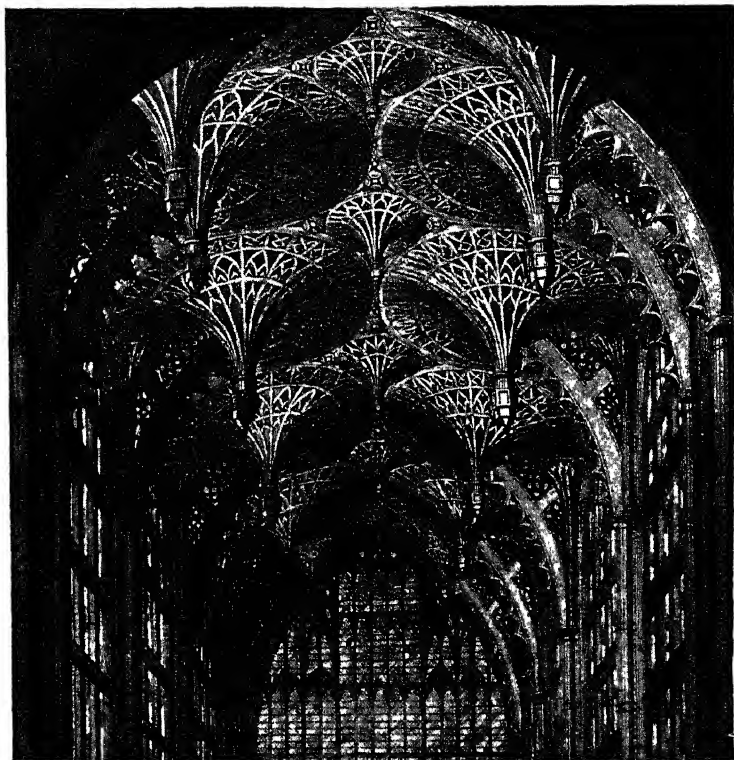
The common people apply themselves to trade, or to fishing, or else they practise navigation; and they are so diligent in mercantile pursuits, that they do not fear to make contracts on usury.

Although they all attend mass every day, and say many Paternosters in public (the women carrying long rosaries in their hands, and any who can read taking the office of Our Lady with them, and with some companion reciting it in the church verse by verse, in a low voice, after the manner of churchmen), they always hear mass on Sunday in their parish church, and give liberal alms, because they may not offer less than a piece of money of which fourteen are equivalent to a golden ducat; nor do they omit any form incumbent upon good Christians; there are, however, many who have various opinions concerning religion.

They have a very high reputation in arms; and from the great fear the French entertain of them, one must believe it to be justly acquired. But I have it on the best information, that when the war is raging most furiously, they will seek for good eating, and all their other comforts, without thinking of what harm might befall them. . . .

The want of affection in the English is strongly manifested towards their children; for after having kept them at home till they arrive at the age of seven

or nine years at the utmost, they put them out, both males and females, to hard service in the houses of other people, binding them generally for another



E. Gardner's Collection.

INTERIOR OF HENRY VII.'S CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

seven or nine years. And these are called apprentices, and during that time they perform all the most menial offices; and few are born who are exempted from this fate, for every one, however rich he may

be, sends away his children into the houses of others, whilst he, in return, receives those of strangers into his own. And on inquiring their reason for this severity, they answered that they did it in order that their children might learn better manners. But I, for my part, believe that they do it because they like to enjoy all their comforts themselves, and that they are better served by strangers than they would be by their own children. Besides which the English being great epicures, and very avaricious by nature, indulge in the most delicate fare themselves and give their household the coarsest bread, and beer, and cold meat baked on Sunday for the week, which, however, they allow them in great abundance.

11. INTERCURSUS MAGNUS.

1496. Lord Bacon, 'History of King Henry VII.,'
ed. Lumby, p. 145. (1621.)

By this time, being the eleventh year of the king, the interruption of trade between the English and the Flemish began to pinch the merchants of both nations very sore: which moved them by all means they could devise, to effect and dispose their sovereigns respectively, to open the intercourse again; wherein time favoured them. For the archduke and his council began to see, that Perkin would prove but a runagate and citizen of the world; and that it was the part of children to fall out about babies. And the king on his part, after the attempts upon Kent and Northumberland, began to have the business of Perkin in less estimation; so as he did

not put it to account in any consultation of state. But that which moved him most was, that being a king that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick, nor any obstruction to continue in the gate-vein, which disperseth that blood. And yet he kept state so far, as first to be sought unto. Wherein the merchant-adventurers likewise, being a strong company at that time, and well under-set with rich men, and good order, did hold out bravely; taking off the commodities of the kingdom, though they lay dead upon their hands for want of vent. At the last, commissioners met at London to treat. These concluded a perfect treaty, both of amity and intercourse, between the king and the archduke, containing articles both of state, commerce and free fishing. This is that treaty which the Flemings call at this day *Intercursus magnus*; both because it is more complete than the precedent treaties of the third and fourth year of the king, and chiefly to give it a difference from the treaty that followed in the one and twentieth year of the king, which they call *Intercursus malus*. In this treaty there was an express article against the reception of the rebels of either prince by other. But nevertheless in this article Perkin was not named, neither perhaps contained, because he was no rebel. But by this means his wings were clipt of his followers that were English. And it was expressly comprised in the treaty, that it should extend to the territories of the duchess dowager. After the intercourse thus restored, the English merchants came again to their mansion at Antwerp, where they were received with procession and great joy.

12. THE DISCOVERY OF NORTH AMERICA.

(A)

John Cabot's Discovery of North America.

'Calendar of State Papers' (Venetian)
i, p. 262. [A letter from Lorenzo
Pasqualigo to his brothers.]

LONDON, 23rd August, 1497.

Our Venetian, who went with a small ship from Bristol to find new islands, has come back, and says he has discovered, seven hundred leagues off, the mainland of the country of the Great Khan and that he coasted along it for 300 leagues, and landed, but did not see any person. But he has brought here to the king certain snares spread to take game, and a needle for making nets; and he found some notched trees, from which he judged that there were inhabitants. Being in doubt, he came back to the ship. He has been away three months on the voyage, which is certain, and in returning he saw two islands to the right, but he did not wish to land, lest he should lose time, for he was in want of provisions. This king has been much pleased. He says that the tides are slack, and do not make currents as they do here. The king has promised for another time, ten armed ships as he desires, and has given him all the prisoners, except such as are confined for high treason, to go with him, as he has requested; and has granted him money to amuse himself till then. Meanwhile he is with his Venetian wife and his sons at Bristol. His name is Zuam Cabot and he is called the Great Admiral, great honour being paid

to him, and he goes dressed in silk. The English are ready to go with him, and so are many of our rascals. The discoverer of these things has planted a large cross in the ground with a banner of England, and one of St. Mark, as he is a Venetian; so that our flag has been hoisted very far away.

(B.)

Sebastian Cabot tells of his Discovery.

Hakluyt, vol. vii., p. 147.

[A discourse of Sebastian Cabot touching his discovery of part of the West India out of England in the time of King Henry the seuenth, vsed to Galeacius Butrigarius the Popes Legate in Spaine, and reported by the sayd Legate in this sort.]

Doe you not vnderstand sayd he (speaking to certaine Gentlemen of Venice) how to passe to India toward the north-west, as did of late a citizen of Venice, so valiant a man, and so well practised in all things pertaining to nauigations and the science of Cosmographie, that at this present he hath not his like in Spaine, insomuch that for his vertues he is preferred above all other pilots that saile to the West Indies, who may not passe thither without his license, and is therefore called Piloto mayor, that is, the grand Pilot. And when we sayd that we knew him not, he proceeded, saying, that being certaine yeres in the city of Siuil [Seville], and desirous to have some knowledge of the nauigations of the Spanyards, it was tolde him that there was in the city a valiant man, a Venetian borne named Sebastian Cabot, who had the charge of those things, being an

rest from such trauels, because there are nowe many yong and lustie Pilots and Mariners of good experience, by whose forwardnesse I doe reioyce in the fruit of my labours, and rest with the charge of this office, as you see.

13. PERKIN WARBECK'S SECOND INVASION.

1497.

Translated from Latin of Bernard Andrie's
'Vita Henrici VII.,' p. 71 [Rolls].
(*Circa* 1502)

Our most excellent king on hearing of the adventurer's arrival, smiled and said: 'Lo, once more we are assailed by this prince of adventurers. Go then, and lest blood be shed through my subjects' ignorance, let us try to take Perkin by gentle means.'

Now the men of Cornwall attacked the gates of Exeter with fire and sword, but were offered a stout resistance by the earl of Devon. The king had sent forces, not to fight against the adventurer, but to keep the country and people from harm. . . .

And so being now in despair of his condition, and seeing that he could make no effect on the power of our king and could not escape the king's hands, our rascal's unwarlike and cowardly mind was entirely overwhelmed with terror and devoid of strength; and he therefore made the following speech to his men: 'You see, my comrades, that the power of the Most High is opposed to our efforts. You see that the valour and merits of Henry, most victorious of kings, are so joined with the favour of heaven that in our struggle against him all our might has been shattered and fails without effect. You see, moreover, our utter destitution and want, aye and to tell

the plain truth, our absolute beggary. For, to confess the truth to you now, although I have put off paying you till to-day, really I have nothing left, no, not a penny; and I do not know where I am to get any money from, or what is to become of me. I am so assailed by fear and a bad conscience that I will indeed reveal in the clear light of truth my counsel, which hitherto I have concealed from you. Of a truth I am not the son of Edward as I told you I was, nor am I worthy of such high lineage. And all the signs and seasons I cleverly told of, I remembered from the time when I was a little fellow in the service of Edward the Jew and of the little son of King Edward in England; for my master was high in the favour of King Edward and his children. Wherefore now spare me, I entreat you, and save your lives as best you can. For, for my part, I do not know whither to turn or to flee. But in any case I have made up my mind to surrender to the king's grace rather than die.' When the wretched creature had tearfully made this paltry and cowardly speech to his followers he fled to sanctuary at Beaulieu. Afterwards he begged his life of the king's grace and this was granted by his majesty's clemency.

14. THE NEW LEARNING IN ENGLAND.

1499.

Translated from 'Letters of Erasmus,'
xiv., ed. 1709.

Erasmus to Robert Fisher.

I am a little afraid of writing to you, my dear Robert; not because I fear that your affection for me has been at all impaired by this great separation

in time and space, but because you are now in that part of the world where the very walls are more learned and scholarly than the men are with us; so that what we think here, fine, exquisite, tasteful, charming, cannot help seeming there, crude, poor and insipid. So you must understand that England expects to find you not only an expert jurist but also equally loquacious in Latin and Greek. And you would long ago have seen me with you, had not my lord Mountjoy carried me off to his native England, when I was ready for the journey. And, indeed, where would I not follow a gentleman of such refinement, kindness, and affability? Nay, upon my word, I would follow him to the world's end. . . . But, you ask, how do you like our England? If you trust me at all, Robert, I assure you that I have never liked anything so much in all my life. I have found here a climate as pleasant as it is healthy; no end of kindness; and so much real learning, not commonplace and paltry, but profound accurate ancient Latin and Greek, that, save for the satisfaction of seeing it, I do not now so much care for Italy. When I am listening to my friend Colet, I seem to be listening to Plato himself. In Grocyn who does not marvel at such a perfection of learning? What can be more acute, profound, and delicate than the judgment of Linacre? What has Nature ever created more gentle, more sweet, more happy than the genius of Thomas More? I need go no further. It is wonderful how widespread and abundant is the harvest of ancient learning in this country—to which you should therefore all the sooner return. . . . Farewell.

From London in haste, this fifth day of December.

15. PHILIP OF BURGUNDY IN ENGLAND.

1506. Lord Bacon's 'History of King Henry VII.,'
ed. Lumby, p. 204. (1621.)

[Philip of Burgundy, King of Castile, on his way to Spain, had been shipwrecked on the English coast, and had perforce accepted Henry's entertainment at Windsor.]

. . . But while these things were in handling, the king choosing a fit time, and drawing the king of Castile into a room, where they two only were private, and laying his hand civilly upon his arm, and changing his countenance a little from a countenance of entertainment, said to him: 'Sir, you have been saved upon my coast, I hope you will not suffer me to wreck upon yours.' The king of Castile asked him 'what he meant by that speech?' 'I mean it,' said the king, 'by that same hair-brain wild fellow, my subject, the earl of Suffolk, who is protected in your country, and begins to play the fool, when all others are weary of it.' The king of Castile answered: 'I had thought, sir, your felicity had been above those thoughts; but, if it trouble you, I will banish him.' The king replied, 'those hornets were best in their nest, and worst when they did fly abroad; and that his desire was to have him delivered to him.' The king of Castile, herewith a little confused, and in a study, said: 'That can I not do with my honour, and less with yours; for you will be thought to have used me as a prisoner.' The king presently said: 'Then the matter is at an end: for I will take that dishonour upon me, and so your honour is saved.' The king of Castile, who had the king in great estimation, and besides remembered

where he was, and knew not what use he might have of the king's amity, for that himself was new in his estate of Spain, and unsettled both with his father-in-law and with his people, composing his countenance, said: 'Sir, you give law to me, but so will I to you. You shall have him, but upon your honour, you shall not take his life.' The king embracing him, said, 'Agreed.' Saith the king of Castile, 'Neither shall it dislike you, if I send to him in such a fashion, as he may partly come with his own good will.' The king said, 'It was well thought of; and if it pleased him, he would join with him, in sending to the earl, a message to that purpose'. . . .

And as soon as the earl of Suffolk had been conveyed to the Tower, which was the serious part, the jollities had an end, and the kings took leave. Nevertheless, during their being here, they in substance concluded that treaty, which the Flemings term *intercursus malus*, and bears date at Windsor, for there be some things in it, more to the advantage of the English, than of them; especially for that the free-fishing of the Dutch upon the coasts and seas of England, granted in the treaty of *undecimo*, was not by this treaty confirmed. All articles that confirm former treaties being precisely and warily limited and confirmed to matter of commerce only, and not otherwise.

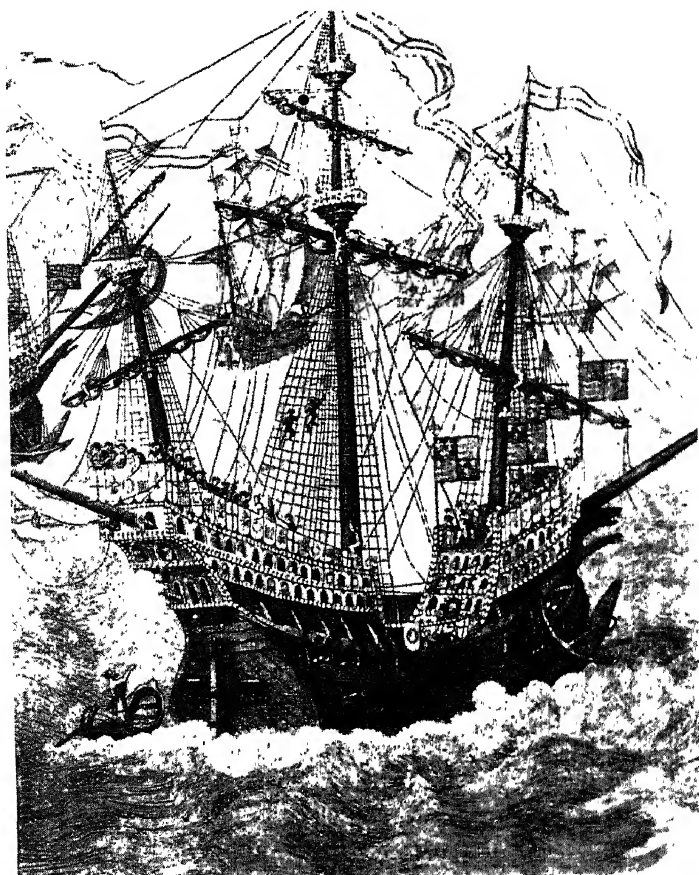
16. WOLSEY AND THE YOUNG KING.

Cavendish's 'Life,' p. 24. (*Circa* 1555.)

The king was young and lusty, disposed all to mirth and pleasure, and to follow his desire and

appetite, nothing minding to travail in the busy affairs of this realm. The which the almoner perceiving very well, took upon him therefore to disburden the king of so weighty a charge and troublesome business, putting the king in comfort that he shall not need to spare any time of his pleasure, for any business that should necessarily happen in the council, as long as he, being there and having the king's authority and commandment, doubted not to see all things sufficiently furnished and perfected; the which would first make the king privy of all such matters as should pass through their hands before he would proceed to the finishing or determining of the same, whose mind and pleasure he would fulfil and follow to the uttermost, wherewith the king was wonderly pleased. And whereas the other ancient counsellors would, according to the office of good counsellors, diverse times persuade the king to have sometime an intercourse in to the council, there to hear what was done in weighty matters, the which pleased the king nothing at all, for he loved nothing worse than to be constrained to do any thing contrary to his royal will and pleasure; and that knew the almoner very well, having a secret intelligence of the king's natural inclination, and so fast as the other counsellors advised the king to leave his pleasure, and to attend to the affairs of his realm, so busily did the almoner persuade him to the contrary; which delighted him much, and caused him to have the greater affection and love to the almoner. Thus the almoner ruled all them that before ruled him; such things did his policy and wit bring to pass. Who was now in high favour, but Master

Almoner? Who had all the suit, but Master Almoner? And who ruled all under the king, but



A SHIP OF THE TIME OF HENRY VIII.

Master Almoner? Thus he proceeded still in favour ; at last, in came presents, gifts, and rewards so plentifully, that I dare say he lacked nothing that might

either please his fantasy or enrich his coffers; fortune smiled so upon him; but to what end she brought him, ye shall hear after.

* * * * *

And when it pleased the king's majesty, for his recreation to repair unto the cardinal's house, as he did divers times in the year, at which time there wanted no preparations, or goodly furniture, with viands of the finest sort that might be provided for money or friendship; such pleasures were then devised for the king's comfort and consolation, as might be invented, or by man's wit imagined. The banquets were set forth, with masks and mummeries, in so gorgeous a sort, and costly manner, that it was a heaven to behold. There wanted no dames, or damsels, meet or apt to dance with the maskers, or to garnish the place for a time, with other goodly disports. Then was there all kind of music and harmony set forth, with excellent voices both of men and children. I have seen the king suddenly come in thither in a mask, with a dozen of other maskers, all in garments like shepherds, made of fine cloth of gold and fine crimson satin paned, and caps of the same, with visors of good proportion of visnomy; their hairs and beards, either of fine gold wire, or else of silver, and some being of black silk; having sixteen torch bearers, beside their drums, and other persons attending upon them, with visors, and clothed all in satin, of the same colours.

17. THE CONFEDERACY AGAINST FRANCE.

1511. Edward Hall's 'Chronicle,' ed. Whibley, i. 39.
Died 1547.

During this season, there began great war between Pope Julius and the French king Louis XII.; the occasion began by one John Bentivoglio, a great lord of Italy, which kept the city of Bologna from the pope, which by the aid of the French king got the said city from the forenamed John Bentivoglio: but afterward because the said Pope Julius took peace with the Venetians, the French king turned from the pope and made war on him, in the behalf of John Bentivoglio, and took from him again the said city of Bologna.

The king of England wrote often to King Louis of France, to desist from the persecuting of the pope, which was his friend and confederate; to which writing he gave little regard. Wherefore the king sent him word to deliver him his lawful inheritance, both of the duchy of Normandy and Guienne, and the countries of Anjou and Maine and also of his crown of France; else he would come with such a power, that by fine force he would obtain his purpose. For all these writings the French king still made war in Italy, and the king could of him have no certain nor determinate answer. Wherefore, after great deliberation had, by the advice of his council, he determined to make war on the French king and his countries, and called to him Maximilian the Emperor and Ferdinand, King of Aragon, and divers other princes, and made preparation, both by sea and by

land, and fortified his frontiers against France and set forth ships to the sea for defence of his merchants, which were daily in jeopardy, under a pretended peace of the French king Louis XII.

18. THE BATTLE OF SPURS.

1513. Edward Hall's 'Chronicle,' ed. Whibley, i. 85.
Died 1547.

Then every man prepared himself to battle, resorting to the standard; the horsemen marched before the footmen by the space of a mile, till came couriers bearing tidings that the French army approached. The king bad set forward and to advance his banner in name of God and St. George. The Almaynes seeing this—to what purpose it was not known—suddenly embattled themselves on the left hand of the king and left the breast or front of the king's battle bare. As the king was thus marching forward toward the battle, to him came the Emperor Maximilian with thirty men of arms, he and all his company armed in one suit with red crosses. Then by the counsel of the emperor, the king caused certain pieces of small ordnance to be laid on the top of a long hill or bank for the out-scourers. Thus the king's horsemen and a few archers on horseback marched forward. The king would fain have been afore with the horsemen, but his council persuaded him the contrary; and so he tarried with the footmen accompanied with the emperor.

The Frenchmen came on in three ranks, thirty-six men's thickness, and well they perceived the king's

battle of footmen marching forward. The earl of Essex, captain of the horsemen, and sir John Peche with the king's horsemen and the Burgundians to the number of eleven hundred, stood with banner displayed in a valley. The lord Walonne and the lord Ligny and their band to the number of four hundred horsemen severed themselves and stood aside from the Englishmen; so then the Englishmen were but seven hundred. Yet they with banner displayed removed up to the top of the hill, and there they met, with sir John Guilford, a hundred tall archers on horseback, which had ascried the Frenchmen. Now on the top of the hill was a fair plain of good ground, on the left hand a low wood, and on the right hand a fallow field. The lord Walonne and the Burgundians kept them aloof. Then appeared in sight the Frenchmen with banners and standards displayed. Then came to the captains of the Englishmen of arms, an English officer of arms called Clarencieux, and said: 'In God's name set forward, for the victory is yours, for I see by them they will not abide, and I will go with you in my coat of arms.' Then the horsemen set forward, and the archers alighted and were set in order by an hedge all along a village side called Bomy. The Frenchmen came on with thirty-three standards displayed, and the archers shot apace and galled their horses; and the English spears set on freshly, crying: 'St. George!' and fought valiantly with the Frenchmen and threw down their standard. The dust was great and the cry more, but suddenly the Frenchmen shocked to their standard and fled, and threw away their spears, swords, and maces, and cut off the

bards of their horses to run the lighter. When the hinder part saw the former fly, they fled also, but the sooner for one cause which was this: as the English horsemen mounted up the hill the stradiates were coming downwards on the one side of the hill before the French host, which suddenly saw the banners of the English horsemen and the king's battle following upward. Weening to them that all had been horsemen, then they cast themselves about and fled. The Frenchmen were so fast in array that the stradiates could have no entry, and so they ran still by the ends of the ranks of the French army. And when they behind saw the fall of their standards and their stradiates in whom they had great confidence return, they that were farthest off fled first. Then up pranced the Burgundians and followed the chase. This battle was of horsemen to horsemen, but not in equal number, for the Frenchmen were ten to one, which had not been seen beforetime, that the English horsemen gat the victory of the men of arms of France. The Frenchmen call this battle 'the Journey of Spurs'—because they ran away so fast on horseback.

19. THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN.

1513.

'State Papers, Henry VII.,' vol. iv.,
part iv., p. 1 (*slightly modernized*).

First when both the armies were within three miles of one another, the said earl [of Surrey] sent Rouge Cross to the king of Scots, desiring him of battle; and he answered he would abide him there till Friday at noon.

The lord Howard at 11 of the clock, the said ninth day, passed over the bridge of Twyssell with the vaward and artillery; and the said earl following with the rearward, the army was divided into two battles, and to either battle two wings.

The king of Scots' army was divided into five battles, and every battle an arrow-shot from the other, and all equally far from the English army, in great masses, part of them quadrant and some pike-wise, and were on the top of the hill, being a quarter of a mile from the foot thereof.

The lord Howard caused his vaward to steal in a little valley, till the rearward were joined to one of the wings of his battle, and then both wards in one front advanced against the Scots, and they came down the hill, and met with them in good order, after the Alymayns' manner, without speaking of any word.

The earls of Huntley, Arell, and Crawford, with their host of 6,000 men, came upon the lord Howard, and shortly their backs were turned and the most part of them slain.

The king of Scots came with a great puissance upod my lord of Surrey, having on his left hand my lord Darcy's son; which two bare all the brunt of the battle; and there the king of Scots was slain within a spear-length from the said earl of Surrey, and many noblemen of the Scots slain more; and no prisoners taken in those two battles. And in the time of this battle the earls of Lynewes and Argyll with their puissances joined with sir Edward Stanley, and they were put to flight.

Edmund Howard had with him 1,000 Cheshire men, and 500 Lancashire men, and many gentlemen

of Yorkshire on the right wing of the lord Howard; and the lord chamberlain of Scotland with many lords did set on him, and the Cheshire and Lancashire men never abode stroke, and few of the gentlemen of Yorkshire abode, but fled. Mr. Gray and sir Humphrey Lyle be taken prisoners, and sir Wynchard Harbotell and Maurice Berkeley slain. And the said Edmund Howard was thrice felled, and to his relief the lord Dacres came with 1,500 men, and put to flight all the said Scots, and had about eight score of his men slain. In which battle a great number of Scots were slain.

The battle and conflict began betwixt four and five at afternoon, and the chase continued three miles with marvellous slaughter, and ten thousand more had been slain had the English been on horseback.

The Scots were 80,000, and about 10,000 of them slain; and under 400 Englishmen slain.

The English and Scottish ordnance is conveyed, by the good help of the lord Dacre, unto Etall castle.

The king of Scots' body is brought to Berwick. There is no great man of Scotland returned home, but the chamberlain. It is thought that few of them be left alive.

20. THE KING'S ZEAL AGAINST LUTHER.

Ellis, 'Original Letters,' 2nd Series, i., p. 286.

Richard Pace to Cardinal Wolsey.

Please it your grace at mine arrival to the king this morning, I found him looking upon a book of Luther's, and his grace shewed unto me that it was

a new work of the said Luther's. I looked upon the title thereof and perceived by the same that it is the same book, put into print, which your grace sent unto him by me, written. And upon such dispraise as his grace did give unto the said book I delivered the pope's bull and his brief, brought in my charge opportune, and with the which the king was well contented: here at length shewing unto me that it was very joyous to have these tidings from the pope's holiness at such time as he had taken upon him the defence of Christ's Church with his pen, before the receipt of the said tidings; and that he will make an end of his book within these [few weeks]; and desiring your grace to provide that within the same space all such as be appointed to examine Luther's books may be congregated together for his highness' perceiving; and by such things,—and I declared unto him by the pope's brief that this matter requireth hasty expedition,—will take the more pain for to make an end therein the sooner, and is condescended and agreeable to every thing desired by your grace; that is to say to write his letters to the Emperor and the Prince's Electors, and to send also such a person with the same as shall be seen most meet for that purpose; and to send his book not only to Rome, but also into France and other nations as shall appear convenient. So that all the Church is more bound to this good and virtuous prince for the vehement zeal he beareth unto the same, than I can express. . . .

21. A DESCRIPTION OF HENRY VIII.

1519. Dispatch of Giustiniani, the Venetian Ambassador, 'Calendar of State Papers, Venetian' [Rolls Series], i., p. 559.

His majesty is twenty-nine years old and extremely handsome. Nature could not have done more for him. He is much handsomer than any other sovereign in Christendom; a great deal handsomer than the king of France; very fair and his whole frame admirably proportioned. On hearing that Francis I. wore a beard, he allowed his own to grow, and as it is reddish, he has now a beard that looks like gold. He is very accomplished, a good musician, composes well, is a most capital horseman, a fine jousting, speaks good French, Latin, and Spanish, is very religious, hears three masses daily when he hunts, and sometimes five on other days. He hears the office every day in the queen's chamber, that is to say, vesper and compline. He is very fond of hunting, and never takes his diversion without tiring eight or ten horses, which he causes to be stationed beforehand along the line of country he means to take, and when one is tired he mounts another, and before he gets home they are all exhausted. He is extremely fond of tennis, at which game it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture. He gambles with the French hostages, to the amount occasionally, it is said, of from 6,000 to 8,000 ducats in a day. He is affable and gracious, harms no one, does not covet his neighbour's goods, and is satisfied



HENRY VIII. WHEN YOUNG.

*Spencer and Co.**From a portrait by Holbein.*

with his own dominions, having often said to me :
' Sir Ambassador, we want all potentates to content
themselves with their own territories ; we are satis-

fied with this island of ours.' He seems extremely desirous of peace.

He is very rich. His father left him ten millions of ready money in gold, of which he is supposed to have spent one-half in the war against France, when he had three armies on foot ; one crossed the Channel with him, another was in the field against Scotland, and the third remained with the queen in reserve.

His revenues amount to about 350,000 ducats annually, and are derived from estates, forests and meres, the customs, hereditary and confiscated property, the duchies of Lancaster, York, Cornwall, and Suffolk, the county palatine of Chester and others, the principality of Wales, the export duties, the wool staple, the great seal, the annates yielded by Church benefices, the Court of Wards, and from New Year's gifts ; for on the first day of the year it is customary for his majesty to make presents to everybody, but the value of those he receives in return greatly exceeds his own outlay. His majesty's expenses may be estimated at 100,000 ducats, those in ordinary having been reduced from 100,000 to 56,000, to which must be added 16,000 for salaries, 5,000 for the stable, 5,000 for the halberdiers, who have been reduced from 500 to 150, and 16,000 for the wardrobe, for he is the best-dressed sovereign in the world. His robes are very rich and superb, and he puts on new clothes every holiday.

22. THE FIELD OF CLOTH OF GOLD.

1520. Edward Hall's 'Chronicle,' ed. Whibley, i. 198.
Died 1547.

Then the king of England showed himself some deal forward in beauty and personage, the most goodliest prince that ever reigned over the realm of England. His grace was apparelled in a garment of cloth of silver, of damask ribbed with cloth of gold, so thick as might be; the garment was large and pleated very thick and cantled of very good intail, of such shape and making that it was marvellous to behold. The courser which his grace rode on was trapped in a marvellous vesture of a new devised fashion; the trapper was of fine gold in bullion, curiously wrought, pounced and set with antique work of Roman figures. Attending on the king's grace of England was the Master of the Horse, by name sir Henry Guilford, leading the king's spare horse. . . . After followed nine henchmen, riding on coursers of Naples; the same young gentlemen were apparelled in rich cloth of tissue, the coursers in harness of marvellous fashion, scaled in fine gold in bullion, and works subtle more than my sight could contrive; and all the same horse-harness was set full of trembling spangs that were large and fair. The lord marquess Dorset bare the king's sword of state before the king's grace; the reverend father lord cardinal did his attendance.

Thus in little time, abiding the coming of the French king and his, the which in short time came with great number of horsemen, freshly apparelled;

the French king and his retinue put themselves in place appointed, direct against the English party, beholding every other of both nations. The Frenchmen mused much of the battle of the footmen, and every of the Frenchmen to other spake of the multitude of the Englishmen which seemed great; yet were not they so many as the French party.

When the French king had a little beholden the Englishmen, he put himself somewhat before his people, that were there on him attendant, the duke of Bourbon bearing a naked sword upright, the lord admiral of France and the count Cosmen Galias, Master of the French king's Horse; and no more persons gave their attendance in passing with the French king. When it was perceived that the French king's sword was borne naked, then the king of England commanded the lord marquess Dorset to draw out the sword of state and bare it up naked in presence; which was so done.

Then up blew the trumpets, sackbuts, clarions and all other minstrels on both sides, and the kings descended down toward the bottom of the valley of Arden, in sight of both the nations; and on horseback met and embraced the two kings each other. Then the two kings alighted and after embraced with benign and courteous manner each to other, with sweet and goodly words of greeting. And after few words these two noble kings went together into the rich tent of cloth of gold, that there was set on the ground for such purpose. Thus arm in arm went the French king Francis I. of France and Henry VIII. king of England and of France, together passing with communication.

When the two princes were in the tent, before rehearsed, the French king said : ' My dear brother and cousin, thus far to my pain have I travelled to see you personally ; I think verily that you esteem me as I am. And that I may to you be your aid, the realms and seignories show the might of my person.' ' Sir,' said the king of England, ' neither your realms nor other the places of your power is the matter of my regard, but the steadfastness and loyal keeping of promise, comprised in charters between you and me ; that observed and kept, I never saw prince with my eyes that might of my heart be more loved. And for your love I have passed the seas, into the farthest frontier of my realm to see you presently ; the which doing now gladdeth me.' And then were the two kings served with a banquet, and after mirth had communication in the banquet time, and there shewed the one the other their pleasure.

The English officers went and ran with great pots of wine and bowls to the Frenchmen and them cheered the best that might be. All this season stood still the noblemen of the English party and all other, and from their places moved nothing that they were appointed unto. And the serving men in like wise not once moved from their ground or standing ; but the Frenchmen suddenly brake and many of them came into the English party, speaking fair ; but for all that, the court of England and the lords still kept their array.

After the two kings had ended the banquet, and spice and wine given to the Frenchmen, Ipcoras was chief drink of plenty to all that would drink. In open sight then came the two kings, that is to wit

the French king and the king of England, out of their tent This French king had on his head a coif of damask gold set with diamonds, and his courser that he rode on was covered with a trapper of tissue, embroidered with devise, cut in fashion mantle-wise; the skirts were embowed and fret with frieze work and knit with cordels, and buttons tusselled of Turkey making; reins and headstall answering of like work. And verily of his person the same Francis, the French king, a goodly prince; stately of countenance, merry of cheer, brown-coloured, great eyes, high-nosed, big-lipped, fair breasted and shoulders, small legs and long feet.

All the nobles of the French court were in garments of many colours, so that they were not known from the braggery. Thus as the two kings were in communication, divers noblemen of England were called to presence. And then the two kings departed with their company, the king of England to Guisnes, the French king to Arden.

23. NOW A DAYES.

Circa 1520.

Furnivall, 'Ballads from Manuscripts,'
p. 95.

[The original ballad contains 280 lines.]

Temporal lordes be almost gone,
Howsholdes kepe thei few or none,
Which causeth many a goodly mane
ffor to begg his bredd :

Yff he stele ffor necessite,
 ther ys none other remedye
 But the law will shortlye
 Hang him all save the hedd.

* * * *

Envy waxith wonders strong,
 the Rich(e) doth the poore wrong :
 God of his mercy suffereth long
 the devill his workes to work.
 The townes go down, the land decayes ;
 Off cornefeylde, playne layes ;
 Gret men mathithe now a dayes
 A shepecott in the church.

* * * *

The places that we Right holy call,
 Ordeyned ffor christyn buriall,
 Off them to man an ox stall,
 these men be wonders wyse
 Commons to close and kepe ;
 Poor folk for bred to cry and wepe ;
 Towns pulled down to pastur shepe :
 this ys the new gyse !

* * * *

Many gamers and few archers,
 gay cortyars and yll warryers,
 many craftesmen and halff beggers,
 both in townes and cyty ;
 ffrenche ware hither ys browght,
 And englishe handcraft gothe to nowght
 Half this Realme, it ys unwrought !
 Alas, for pure pytty !

* * * *

24. TRIAL OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

1521. Edward Hall's 'Chronicle,' ed. Whibley, i. 224.
Died 1547.

When the lords had taken their places, sir Thomas Lovell and sir Richard Chomley, knights, brought the duke to the bar, with the axe of the Tower before him; who humbly bareheaded revered the duke of Norfolk and after all the lords and the king's learned counsel. Then the clerk of the council said: 'Sir Edward, duke of Buckingham, hold up thy hand; thou art indited of high treason, for that thou traitorously hast conspired and imagined, as far as in thee lay, to shorten the life of our sovereign lord the king. Of this treason how wilt thou acquit thee?' The duke answered: 'By my peers.'

And when the inditement was openly read, the duke said: 'It is false and untrue and conspired and forged to bring me to my death, and that I will prove'; alleging many reasons to falsify the inditement. And against his reasons the king's attorney alleged the examinations, confessions and proofs of witnesses.

The duke desired the witnesses to be brought forth. Then was brought before him sir Gilbert Perk, priest, his chancellor, first accuser of the same duke; master John Delacourt, priest, the duke's confessor; and his own handwriting laid before him to the accusation of the duke; Charles Knevet, esquire, cousin to the duke, and a monk, prior to the Charterhouse beside Bath, which like a false hypocrite had induced the duke to the treason, and had divers

times said to the duke that he should be king of England. But the duke said that in himself he never consented to it. Divers presumptions and accusations were laid to him by Charles Knevet, which he would fain have covered. The depositions were read, and the deponents were delivered as prisoners to the officers of the Tower.

Then spake the duke of Norfolk and said: 'My lord, the king our sovereign lord hath commanded that you shall have his laws ministered with favour and right to you. Wherefore if you have any other thing to say for yourself you shall be heard.' Then he was commanded to withdraw him, and so was led into *Paradise*, a house so named. The lords went to council a great while and after took their places. Then said the duke of Norfolk to the duke of Suffolk: 'What say you of sir Edward, duke of Buckingham, touching the high treasons?' The duke of Suffolk answered: 'He is guilty.' And so said the marquess and all the other earls and lords. Thus was this prince, duke of Buckingham, found guilty of high treason by a duke, a marquess, seven earls and twelve barons.

The duke was brought to the bar sore chafing, and sweat marvellously; after he had made his reverence he paused a while. The duke of Norfolk, as a judge said: 'Sir Edward, you have heard how you be indited of high treason; you pleaded thereto Not Guilty, putting yourself to the peers of the realm, the which have found you guilty.' Then the duke of Norfolk wept and said: 'You shall be led to the king's prison and there laid on a hurdle and so drawn to the place of execution. . . . And God have mercy on your soul. Amen.'



CARDINAL WOLSEY.

From the painting in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

The duke of Buckingham said : ' My lord of Norfolk, you have said as a traitor should be said unto, but I was never none ; but my lords I nothing malign for that you have done to me ; but the eternal God forgive you my death and I do ; I shall never sue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him than I desire. I desire you my lords and all my fellows to pray for me.'

Then was the edge of the axe turned towards him ; and so led into a barge, sir Thomas Lovel desired him to sit on the cushions and carpet ordained for him. He said, ' Nay, for when I went to Westminster I was duke of Buckingham ; now I am but Edward Bohun, the most caitiff of the world.' . . . God forgive him, he was a proud prince. It is pity that he behaved him so against his king and liege lord, whom God preserve . . .

25. ANOTHER MEETING WITH THE EMPEROR—A BALANCE TO GUISNES.

1521. Edward Hall's 'Chronicle,' ed. Whibley, i. 218.
Died 1547.

Monday the twenty-fifth day of June the king of England and the queen and all the court removed from Guisnes to the town of Calais, and there made the king his abode ; where was concluded the meeting of the emperor with the king, wherefore was made new and great provisions.

In the time of the triumph there was a muttering that the town of Calais should be rendered into the French king's hands ; and for truth the French so

spake and said, wherewith many Englishmen were grieved.

While the king thus lay in Calais, he considered the charge of his nobles and thought that less number of servants would now serve them for the time of his abode, and so caused the cardinal to call all the gentlemen before him ; which in the king's name gave to them thanks with much commendations ; and for eschewing of cost—because the king tarried but the emperor's coming—he licensed them to send home the half number of their servants, and bad them, after their long charges, to live warily ; this term *warily* was amongst the most part taken for *barely*, at which saying the gentlemen sore disdained.

Thus in Calais rested the king and the queen until the tenth day of July. Then the king's grace with goodly repair rode to the town of Gravelines in Flanders, there that night to rest and see the emperor. On the king were waiting the lord cardinal, dukes, marquises, earls, bishops, barons, knights and gentlemen. The noble emperor passed the water of Graveline and at a place called Wael there he met and received the king of England ; the emperor made such semblant of love to all the court of England that he won the love of the Englishmen ; and so passed the emperor and the king of England to Gravelines, where the king lodged the best that might be ; all lords, gentlemen, yeomen and all sorts of Englishmen, from the highest to the lowest were so cheered and feasted with so loving manner that much they praised the emperor's court. In Gravelines was the emperor's aunt Margaret ; she welcomed the king and other noblemen of the realm.

When the French king and his lords had knowledge of the meeting of the emperor and the king of England in the town of Gravelines, they were therewith greatly grieved, as by many things appeared; for, after, the Englishmen were in France disdained and in their suits there greatly deferred, and had little right and much less favour; so from day to day still more and more began heart-burning, and in conclusion open war did arise between the two realms.

Wednesday the eleventh day of July the emperor and the lady Margaret came with the king of England to the town of Calais. . . .

26. ON THE CARDNALL WOLSE.

1521-22.

Furnivall, 'Ballads from Manuscripts,'
p. 333

[The ballad contains eighty lines, and our extract begins at the third stanza, with an appeal to the king; the first line probably refers to the Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520.]

And spare your pleasure for A season,
And stody remedy by your awne Reason,
To sette your Realme in quyetnes,
That now ys in grete hevynes,
To se A Churle, A Bochers Curre,
To Rayne and Rule in soche honour.
Hyt ys to hye, with-owte mesure;
Hys pryde hathe wastyd myche of your Treasure.

O gracious kyng! Reuerte your mynde
from that Churle borne by kynde,
and from that vyle bochers Blode;
for he shall nevyr do your grace good.

he Blyndeth your grace with sotell Reason,
And vnder-myndyth yow by hye treason ;
And yf your grace wold pleas to here,
hys falsed and treason shall Apere.

There ys not one The truth dar speke,
for fere of losyng of hys hede.
They flater, and they clater, oon to Another,
and well darre not truste hys awne brothor.
o whyte lyon, that valyaunte knyghte !*
where ys thi power, where is thy myghte ?
A lyon to fawne to A Bochers Curre !
Ayenste all Reason and good honour !

27. SIR THOMAS MORE, SPEAKER OF THE
COMMONS.

1523.

Roper, 'Life,' p 18. (*Circa* 1555.)

At this Parliament Cardinal Wolsey found himself much grieved with the burgesses thereof, for that nothing was so soon done or spoken therein but that it was immediately blown abroad in every alehouse. It fortunèd at that Parliament a very great subsidy to be demanded, which the cardinal fearing would not pass the Commons' House determinèd for the furtherance thereof to be there present himself. Before whose coming after long debating there, whether it were better but with a few of his lords, as the most opinion of the house was, or with his whole train royally, to receive him there amongst them : 'Masters,' quoth sir Thomas More, 'forasmuch as

* This probably refers to the duke of Norfolk.

my lord cardinal lately, ye wot well, laid to our charge the lightness of our tongues for things uttered out of this house, it shall not in my mind be amiss to receive him with all his pomp, with his maces, his pillars, his pollaxes, his crosses, his hat and the great seal too; to the intent that if he find the like fault with us hereafter, we may be the bolder from ourselves to lay the blame on those that his grace bringeth hither with him.' Whereunto the house wholly agreeing, he was received accordingly. Where after he had in a solemn oration by many reasons proved how necessary it was the demand there moved to be granted, and further showed that less would not serve to maintain the prince's purpose, he seeing the company sitting still silent and thereunto nothing answering, and contrary to his expectations showing in themselves towards his request no towardness of inclination, said unto them, 'Masters, you have many wise and learned men amongst you, and sith I am from the king's own person sent hither unto you for the preservation of yourselves and all the realm, I think it meet you give me some reasonable answer.' Whereat every man holding his peace, then began he to speak to one master Marney, afterward lord Marney. 'How say you,' quoth he, 'Master Marney?' who making him no answer neither, he severally asked the same question of divers others accounted the wisest of the company: to whom, when none of them all would give so much as one word, being agreed before, as the custom was, to answer by their Speaker, 'Masters,' quoth the cardinal, 'unless it be the manner of your house, as of likelihood it is, by the mouth of your Speaker,

whom you have chosen for trusty and wise (as indeed he is), in such case to utter your minds, here is without doubt a marvellous obstinate silence,' and thereupon he required answer of master Speaker. Who first reverently on his knees excusing the silence of the house, abashed at the presence of so noble a personage, able to amaze the wisest and best learned in the realm, and after by many probable arguments proving that for them to make answer was neither expedient nor agreeable with the ancient liberty of the house; in conclusion for himself showed that though they had all with their voices trusted him, yet except every one of them could put into his one head all their several wits, he alone in so weighty a matter was unmeet to make his grace answer. Whereupon the cardinal, displeased with sir Thomas More, that had not in this parliament in all things satisfied his desire, suddenly arose and departed. And after the parliament ended, in his gallery at Whitehall in Westminster, he uttered unto him all his griefs, saying: 'Would to God you had been at Rome, master More, when I made you Speaker.' 'Your grace not offended, so would I too, my lord,' quoth sir Thomas More. And to wind such quarrels out of the cardinal's head, he began to talk of the gallery, saying, 'I like this gallery of yours, my lord, much better than your gallery at Hampton Court.' Where-with so wisely broke he off the cardinal's displeasing talk, that the cardinal at that present, as it seemed, wist not what more say to him.

28. WOLSEY AND THE COMMONS : A REBUFF.

1523. Edward Hall's 'Chronicle,' ed. Whibley, i. 284.
Died 1547.

The Parliament being begun, as you have heard before rehearsed, the cardinal, accompanied with divers lords, as well of the spirituality as of the temporalty, came the 29th day of April into the Common House, where he eloquently declared to the Commons, how the French king Francis I., called the most Christian king, had so oftentimes broken promise with the king of England and his well beloved nephew Charles the emperor, that the king of his honour could no longer suffer. For first he declared that at the meeting of the said two princes at Guines, the French king was sworn to keep all the articles contained in the tripartite league, made between him, the emperor and the king of England; since the which time he had made war on the emperor's dominions by Robert de la Marche his captain. He also hath withholden the tributes and other payments, which he should pay to the king of England, for the redemption of Tournay and Turenne; and not with this content, hath not only robbed and spoiled the king's subjects, but also hath sent John duke of Albany into Scotland to make war and to invade this realm; wherefore the king of necessity was driven to war and defence, which in no wise could be maintained without great sums of money; and he thought no less than £700,000—to be raised of the fifth part of every man's goods and lands, that is to say four shillings of every pound;

for he said that the year following the king and the emperor should make such war in France, as hath not been seen.

After that he had declared his matter at length, exhorting the Commons to aid their prince in time of necessity, he departed out of the Common House. The morrow after, sir Thomas More, being Speaker declared all the cardinal's oration again to the Commons and enforced his demand strongly, saying that of duty men ought not to deny to pay four shillings of the pound. But for all that it was denied and proved manifestly that if the fifth part of substance of the realm were but £700,000, and if men should pay to the king the fifth part of their goods, in money or plate, it was proved that there was not so much money, out of the king's hands, in all the realm; for the fifth part of every man's goods is not in money or plate. For although five men were well-moneyed, five thousand were not so; the gentleman of lands hath not the fifth part of the value of coin; the merchant that is rich of silk, wool, tin, cloth and such merchandise, hath not the fifth part in money; the husbandman is rich in corn and cattle, yet he lacked of that sum. . . . Therefore it was thought the sum was impossible to be levied. And if all the coin were in the king's hands, how should men live? Also the king had of the spiritual men the last year four shillings of the pound.

After long reasoning there were certain appointed to declare the impossibility of this demand to the cardinal; which, according to their commission, declared to him substantially the poverty and scarceness of the realm. All which reasons and demonstra-

tions he little regarded; and then the said persons most meekly beseeched his grace to move the king's highness to be content with a more easier sum; to the which he currishly answered, that he would rather have his tongue plucked out of his head with a pair of pincers than to move the king to take any less sum. With which answer they, almost dismayed, came and made report to the Common House, where every day was reasoning, but nothing concluded.

Wherefore the cardinal came again to the Common House and desired to be reasoned withal. To whom it was answered that the fashion of the nether House was to hear, and not to reason—but among themselves. Then he shewed the realm to be of great riches, first, because the king's customs were greater now than they were beforetime; also he alleged sumptuous buildings, plate, rich apparel of men, women, children and servants, fat beasts and delicate dishes, which things were all tokens of great abundance. With which repeating of men's substance, as though he had repined or disdained that any man should fare well or be well clothed but himself, the Commons greatly grudged. And when he was departed out of the House, it was proved that honest apparel of the commodities of this realm, abundance of plate and honest viands, were profitable to the realm and not prodigal.

After long debating the Commons concluded to grant two shillings of the pound, of every man's lands or goods that was worth twenty pounds or might dispend twenty pounds, to be taken for the king; and so upward of every twenty shillings, two shillings; and from forty shillings to twenty pounds,

of every twenty shillings, twelve pence; and under forty shillings, of every head sixteen years and upward, fourpence to be paid in two years. This grant was reported to the cardinal, which therewith was sore discontent and said that the lords had granted four shillings of the pound; which was proved untrue, for indeed they had granted nothing, but harkened all upon the Commons.

29. WOLSEY SUPPRESSES MONASTERIES.

1524. Edward Hall's 'Chronicle,' ed. Whibley, ii. 31.
D'ed 1547.

This season the cardinal, being in the king's favour, obtained license to make a college at Oxford and another at Ipswich; and because he would give no lands to the said colleges he obtained of the bishop of Rome license to suppress and put down divers abbeyes, priories and monasteries . . . ; wherefore suddenly he entered by his Commissioners into the said houses and put out the religious and took all their goods, moveables, and scarcely gave to the poor wretches anything, except it were to the heads of the house; and then he caused the exchequer to sit and to find the houses void, as relinquished, and found the king founder, where other men were founders. And with these lands he endowed withal his colleges, which he began so sumptuous and the scholars were so proud that every person judged that the end would not be good—as you shall hear, five years hereafter.

30. THE EMPEROR AND WOLSEY.

1525. 'Calendar of Spanish Papers,' III., i. 286.

MONSIEUR LE CARDINAL,

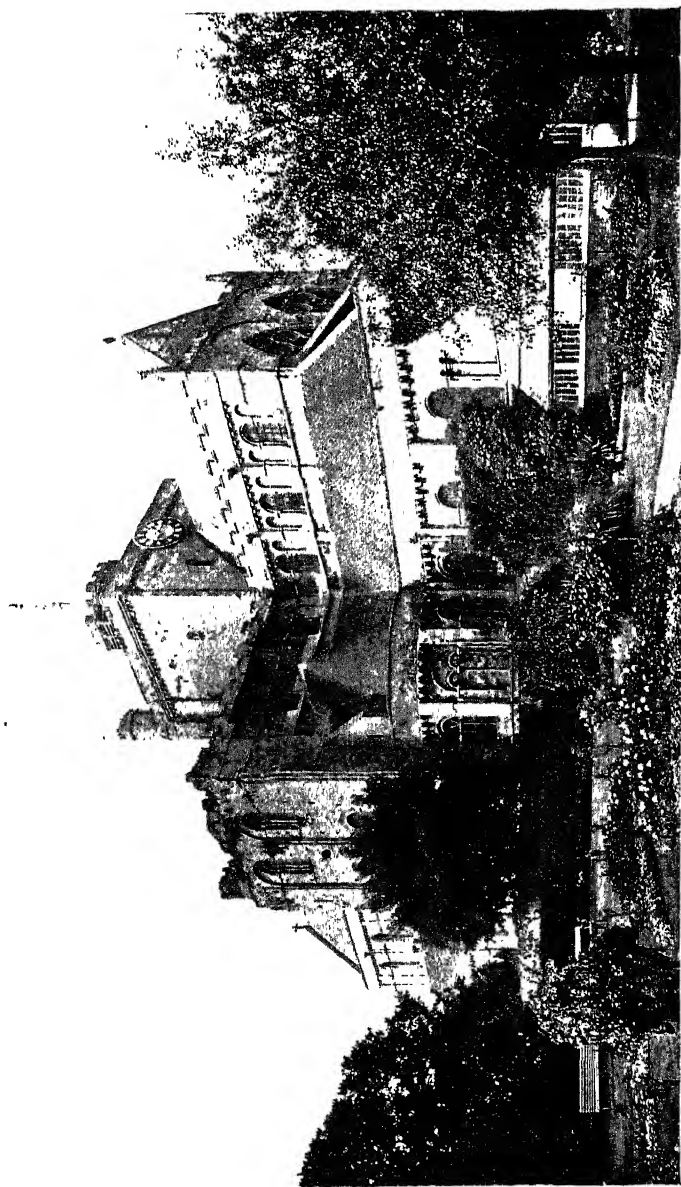
If I have delayed writing to you until now, it has been owing to the strange and unaccountable proceedings of the king, my good father and brother, towards me. I cannot however persuade myself that your intentions were otherwise than good, knowing the care and sollicitude you have always shown in our mutual affairs, and therefore will not withdraw that trust and confidence I have always had in you, begging you will exert yourself to maintain and increase the friendship and affection which have hitherto existed between my good brother and myself, as you will see by the letter I have just written, and which my ambassadors have orders to place in his hands; in doing which I shall have occasion to know and appreciate your good intentions, just as you will also judge by the signature affixed, that mine are equally good and true. Your true friend, Charles.

12th of August, 1525.

31. DISCONTENT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.

1525. Edward Hall's 'Chronicle,' ed. Whibley, ii. 36.
Died 1547.

Now were commissioners sent to the clergy, for the fourth part of their lands and moveables; and in every assembly the priests answered that they would



ROMSEY ABBEY.

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pay nothing, except it were granted by Convocation; otherwise, not. For they said that never king of England did ask any man's goods, but by an order of the law, and this commission is not by order of the law; wherefore they said that the cardinal and all the doers thereof were enemies to the king and to the commonwealth. This infamy was spoken in preachings and everywhere.

When this matter was opened through England, how the great men took it was marvel; the poor cursed, the rich repugned, the light wits railed, but in conclusion all people cursed the cardinal and his coadherents, as subversor of the laws and liberty of England. For they said, if men should give their goods by a commission, then were it worse than the taxes of France, and so England should be bond and not free.

It happened at Reading in Berkshire that the commissioners sat for this money to be granted, and the people would in no wise consent to the sixth part; but of their own mere mind, for the love they bare to the king, they granted the twelfth part, that is twenty pence of the pound. The commissioners hearing this, said they would send to the cardinal, desiring him to be content with this offer, so that sir Richard Weston would bear it; the which letter at the request of the gentlemen of the country, the said sir Richard took upon him to carry, and rode to the cardinal; which therewith was sore grieved and said, but because that the lord Lisle wrote that the matter was but communed of and not concluded, 'it should cost the lord Lisle his head, and his land should be sold to pay the king the values, that by

him and you foolish commissioners he had lost, and all your lives at the king's will.' These words sore astonished sir Richard Weston, but he said little.

Then the cardinal wrote letters to all commissioners of the realm that they should keep their first instruction, and in no wise to swerve one jot, upon pain of their lives, and every man to be valued according to the valuation taken in the fourteenth year. This last point sore touched the city of London, for the cardinal in the fourteenth year sent one doctor Tunes, his secret chaplain, to the chapter house of Paul's, promising to the Londoners that whatsoever they valued themselves at, that no man should know it but the king, the cardinal and he; upon which promise many persons for their more credit and to be the higher esteemed, valued themselves at a greater substance than they were worth, thinking never to lend or pay by that confession; for the loan and the subsidy were paid according as men were assessed and not by master Tunes' book, when men valued themselves, not knowing what should succeed.

Now in this time was that subtle valuation laid to their charge; which when they perceived, they murmured much and said they would pay nothing, except the king's laws—under which they were born, so determined it. But this notwithstanding, commissions went out to every shire for the levy of the said money; but for all that could be persuaded, said, lied and flattered, the demand could not be assented to, saying that they that sent forth such commissioners were subverters of the law and worthy to be punished as traitors. So that in all the realm were bills set up in all places. Some bills said that

the king had not paid that he borrowed ; some said that the subsidy amounted treble more than he had bestowed ; others said, whatsoever was granted, no good came of it ; and others said that the cardinal sent all the money to Rome. Thus was the muttering through all the realm, with curses and weeping, that pity it was to behold.

32. THE CAUSES OF SOCIAL MISERY.

More's 'Utopia' in Arber's Reprints, 37.
Spelling modernized. (1516.)

It chanced on a certain day, when I sate at his table, there was also a certain layman cunning in the laws of your realm. Who, I can not tell whereof taking occasion, began diligently and earnestly to praise that strait and rigorous justice, which at that time was there executed upon felons, who as he said, were for the most part twenty hanged upon one gallows. And, seeing so few escaped punishment, he said he could not choose but greatly wonder and marvel how and by what evil luck it should so come to pass, that thieves nevertheless were in every place so rife and so rank.

'Nay, sir,' quoth I (for I durst boldly speak my mind before the cardinal), 'marvel nothing hereat : for this punishment of thieves passeth the limits of justice, and is also very hurtful to the weal public. For it is too extreme and cruel a punishment for theft, and yet not sufficient to refrain and withhold men from theft. For simple theft is not so great an offence, that it ought to be punished with death.

Neither there is any punishment so horrible, that it can keep them from stealing, which have no other craft whereby to get their living. Therefore in this point, not you only, but also the most part of the world, be like evil schoolmasters, which be readier to beat than to teach their scholars. For great and horrible punishments be appointed for thieves, whereas much rather provision should have been made that there were some means whereby they might get their living, so that no man should be driven to this extreme necessity, first to steal and then to die.'

'Yes,' quoth he, 'this matter is well enough provided for already. There be handicrafts, there is husbandry to get their living by, if they would not willingly be nought.'

'Nay,' quoth I, 'you shall not scape so; for first of all I will speak nothing of them that come home out of the wars, maimed and lame, as not long ago, out of Blackheath field, and a little before that, out of the wars in France: such, I say, as put their lives in jeopardy for the weal public's or the king's sake, and by reason of weakness and lameness be not able to occupy their old crafts and be too aged to learn new: of them I will speak nothing, forasmuch as wars have their ordinary recourse. But let us consider those things that chance daily before our eyes. First there is a great number of gentlemen, which can not be content to live idle themselves, like drones, of that which other have laboured for: their tenants I mean, whom they poll and shave to the quick by raising their rents (for this only point of frugality do they use, men else through their

lavish and prodigal spending, able to bring themselves to very beggary)—these gentlemen, I say, do not only live in idleness themselves, but also carry about with them at their tails a great flock or train of idle and loitering serving-men which never learned any craft whereby to get their livings. These men, as soon as their master is dead, or be sick themselves, be incontinent thrust out of doors. For gentlemen had rather keep idle persons than sick men, and many times the dead man's heir is not able to maintain so great a house, and keep so many serving-men as his father did. Then in the mean season they that be thus destitute of service, either starve for hunger, or manfully play the thieves. For what would you have them to do? When they have wandered abroad so long, until they have worn threadbare their apparel, and also appaired their health, then gentlemen because of their pale and sickly faces and patched coats will not take them into service. And husbandmen dare not set them awork, knowing well enough that he is nothing meet to do true and faithful service to a poor man with a spade and a matlock for small wages and hard fare, which being daintily and tenderly pampered up in idleness and pleasure, was wont with a sword and a buckler by his side to strut through the street with a bragging look, and to think himself too good to be any man's mate. . . .

‘But yet this is not only the necessary cause of stealing. There is another, which, as I suppose, is proper and peculiar to you Englishmen alone.’

‘What is that?’ quoth the cardinal.

‘Forsooth, my lord,’ quoth I, ‘your sheep that

were wont to be so meek and tame, and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, be become so great devourers and so wild, that they eat up, and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy and devour whole fields, houses and cities. For look, in what parts of the realm doth grow the finest and therefore dearest wool, there noblemen and gentlemen, yea and certain abbots, holy men no doubt, not contenting themselves with the yearly revenues and profits, that were wont to grow to their forefathers and predecessors of their lands, nor being content that they live in rest and pleasure nothing profiting, yea much noying the weal public: leave no ground for tillage; they inclose all into pastures; they throw down houses; they pluck down towns and leave nothing standing but only the church, to be made a sheephouse. And as though you lost no small quantity of ground by forests, chases, lawns and parks, these good holy men turn all dwelling places and all glebe land into desolation and wilderness. Therefore that one covetous and unsatiable cormorant and very plague of his native country may compass about and inclose many thousand acres of ground together, with one pale or hedge; the husbandmen be thrust out of their own; or else either by coveyn and fraud, or by violent oppression they be put besides it, or by wrongs and injuries they be so wearied that they be compelled to sell all; by one means therefore or by other, either by hook or crook they must needs depart away, poor, silly, wretched souls, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woeful mothers with their young babes, and their

whole household small in substance and much in number, as husbandry requireth many hands. Away they trudge, I say, out of their known and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest in; all their household stuff, which is very little worth—though it might well abide the sale—yet being suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have wandered about till that be spent, what can they then else do but steal, and then justly, pardy, be hanged or else go about a-begging. And yet then also they be cast in prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not: whom no man will set awork, though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto. For one shepherd or herdman is enough to eat up that ground with cattle, to the occupying whereof about husbandry many hands were requisite. And this is also the cause why victuals be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of wool is so risen that poor folks, which were wont to work it and make cloth thereof, be now able to buy none at all. . . .

Now to amend the matter, to this wretched beggary and miserable poverty is joined great wantonness, unfortunate superfluity and excessive riot. For not only gentlemen's servants, but also handicraftmen, yea and almost the ploughmen of the country, with all other sortes of people, use much strange and proud newfangelness in their apparel, and too much prodigal riot and sumptuous fare at their table.

33. THE BALANCE READJUSTED: ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE.

1526. Edward Hall's 'Chronicle,' ed. Whibley,
ii. 65. *Died* 1547.

The 28th day of April, in the beginning of this eighteenth year, came to the court to Greenwich, Monsieur Brenion, chief president of Rouen and Jean Jocyn, now called Monsieur de Vaux; which president of Rouen before the king set in a throne, and accompanied with all his nobles and the ambassadors of Rome, of Venice and Florence being there present, made in the Latin tongue a solemn oration, the effect whereof was that he shewed how dreadful the wars had been between the realms of England and France; what great loss the realm of France had sustained by the said wars. He declared further what power the king of England was of, and what conquest he might have made in France, the king being prisoner; and knowledged the king of England's right in the wars and their wrongs; where he humbly thanked him of his pity and compassion that he had on them in their necessity and affliction, that he would consent to peace.

To this oration the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, by name sir Thomas More, made answer, saying that it much rejoiced the king that they first considered how by his power he might have oppressed, and how by his pity he had relieved them; wherefore he would hereafter, that for kindness they should shew him none unkindness, but inviolately keep that league which was concluded.

The next day after, being Sunday, the cardinal sang a solemn mass in the king's chapel of Greenwich; and after mass the king swore before the French ambassadors, the four ambassadors above rehearsed being present, that he should keep the peace and league concluded between him and his brother and perpetual ally the French king, during his life and a year after; and after mass to all ambassadors was made a great feast.

34. WOLSEY AND THE COURTIER.

1529.

Cavendish, 'Life,' p. 129. (*Circa* 1555.)

With that [after the trial had been postponed by Campeggio] stepped forth the duke of Suffolk from the king, and by his commandment spake these words, with a stout and an haughty countenance. 'It was never merry in England,' quoth he, 'whilst we had cardinals among us;' which words were set forth with such a vehement countenance, that all men marvelled what he intended: to whom no man made answer. Then the duke spake again in great despite. To the which words my lord cardinal, perceiving his vehemency, soberly made answer and said: 'Sir, of all men within this realm, ye have least cause to dispraise or be offended with cardinals; for if I, simple cardinal, had not been, you should have had at this present no head upon your shoulders, wherein you should have a tongue to make any such report in despite of us, who intend you no manner of displeasure; nor have we given you any occasion with such despite to be revenged with

your hault words. I would ye knew it, my lord, that I and my brother here intendeth the king and his realm as much honour, wealth and quietness, as you or any other, of what estate or degree soever he be, within this realm; and would as gladly accomplish his lawful desire as the poorest subject he hath. But, my lord, I pray you, show me what ye would do if ye were the king's commissioner in a foreign region, having a weighty matter to treat upon; and the conclusion being doubtful thereof, would ye not advertise the king's majesty or ever ye went through with the same? Yes, yes, my lord I doubt not. Therefore I would ye should banish your hasty malice and despiht out of your heart, and consider that we be but commissioners for a time, and can, nor may not, by virtue of our commission proceed to judgment, without the knowledge and consent of the chief head of our authority, and having his consent to the same; which is the pope. Therefore we do no less nor otherwise than our warrant will bear us; and if any man will be offended with us therefore, he is an unwise man. Wherefore my lord, hold your peace, and pacify yourself, and frame your tongue like a man of honour and wisdom, and not to speak so quickly or reproachfully by your friends; for ye know best what friendship ye have received at my hands, the which I yet never revealed to no person alive before now, neither to my glory, nor to your dishonour.' And therewith the duke gave over the matter without any words to reply, and so departed and followed after the king, who was gone into Bridewell at the beginning of the duke's first words.

35. WOLSEY ASKS HELP FROM CROMWELL.

1529.

Ellis, 'Original Letters,' 1st Series, ii. 1.

Myn owne enterly belouyed Cromwell, I beseche yow, as ye loue me and wyl euyr do any thyng for me, repare hyther thys day as sone as the Parlement ys broken vp, leyng aparte all thyngs for that tyme; for I wuld nut onely commynycat thyngs vnto yow wherein for my comfort and relief I wold haue your good, sad, dyscret aduyse and counsell, but also opon the same commytt sertyng thyngs requyryng expedition to yow, on my behalf to be solycytyd: this, I pray you therfor, to hast your commyng hyther assafore with owt omyttyng so to do as ye tendyr my socor, reliff, and comfort, and quyetnes of mynde. And thus fare ye wel: from Asher, in hast, thys Satyrday, in the mornyng, with the rude hand sorrowfull hert of your assuryd louer

T. CAR¹th EBOR.

I have also serteyn thyngs consernyng yowr sylf wych I am suere ye wolbe glad to here and knowe: fayle not therfor to be here thys nygth, ye may retorne early in the mornyng ageyn yf nede shul so requyre. *Et iterum vale.*

M. Agusteyn shewyd me how ye had wryttn onto me a Lettre wherin ye shuld adu'tyse me of the commyng hyther of the duke of Norfolke: I assure yow ther cam to my hands no suche Lettre.

36. WOLSEY'S DEATH.

1530.

Cavendish, 'Life,' p. 243. (*Circa* 1555.)

And the next day he took his journey with master Kingston and the guard. And as soon as they espied their old master, in such a lamentable estate, they lamented him with weeping eyes. Whom my lord took by the hands, and divers times, by the way, as he rode, he would talk with them, sometime with one, and sometime with another; at night he was lodged at a house of the earl of Shrewsbury's called Hardwick Hall, very ill at ease. The next day he rode to Nottingham, and there lodged that night, more sicker, and the next day we rode to Leicester abbey; and by the way he waxed so sick that he was divers times likely to have fallen from his mule; and being night before we came to the abbey of Leicester, where at his coming in at the gates the abbot of the place with all his convent met him with the light of many torches; whom they right honourably received with great reverence. To whom my lord said, 'Father abbot, I am come hither to leave my bones among you,' whom they brought on his mule to the stairs foot of his chamber, and there alighted, and master Kingston then took him by the arm, and led him up the stairs; who told me afterwards that he never carried so heavy a burden in all his life. And as soon as he was in his chamber, he went incontinent to his bed, very sick. This was upon Saturday at night; and there he continued sicker and sicker.

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Then was he in confession the space of an hour. And when he had ended his confession, master Kingston bade him good-morrow (for it was about seven of the clock in the morning); and asked him how he did. 'Sir,' quoth he, 'I tarry but the will and pleasure of God, to render unto him my simple soul into his divine hands.' 'Not yet so, Sir,' quoth master Kingston; 'with the grace of God, ye shall live, and do very well, if ye will be of good cheer.' . . . 'Well, well, master Kingston,' quoth he, 'I see the matter against me how it is framed; but if I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. Howbeit this is the just reward that I must receive for my worldly diligence and pains that I have had to do him service; only to satisfy his vain pleasure, not regarding my godly duty. Wherefore, I pray you, with all my heart, to have me most humbly commended unto his royal majesty; beseeching him in my behalf to call to his most gracious remembrance all matters proceeding between him and me from the beginning of the world unto this day, and the progress of the same: and most chiefly in the weighty matter yet depending (meaning the matter newly began between him and good queen Katharine); then shall his conscience declare, whether I have offended him or no. He is sure a prince of a royal courage, and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will either miss or want any part of his will or appetite, he will put the loss of one half of his realm in danger. For I assure you I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber on my knees, the space of an hour or two, to per-

suade him from his will and appetite : but I could never bring to pass to dissuade him therefrom. Therefore, master Kingston, if it chance hereafter you to be one of his privy council, as for your wisdom and other qualities ye are meet to be, I warn you to be well advised and assured what matter ye put in his head, for ye shall never put it out again. . . . Master Kingston, farewell. I can no more, but wish all things to have good success. My time draweth on fast. I must not tarry with you. And forget not, I pray you, what I have said and charged you withal : for when I am dead, ye shall peradventure remember my words much better.' And even with these words he began to draw his speech at length, and his tongue to fail ; his eyes being set in his head, whose sight failed him. Then we began to put him in remembrance of Christ's passion ; and sent for the abbot of the place to anneal him, who came with all speed, and ministered unto him all the service to the same belonging ; and caused also the guard to stand by, both to hear him talk before his death, and also to witness of the same ; and incontinent the clock struck eight, at which time he gave up the ghost and thus departed he this present life. . . .

Here is the end and fall of pride and arrogancy of such men, exalted by fortune to honours and high dignities ; for I assure you, in his time of authority and glory, he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings that then lived, having more respect to the worldly honour of his person than he had to his spiritual profession ; wherein should be all meekness, humility and charity ; the process whereof I leave to them that be learned and seen in divine laws.

37. PARLIAMENT AND ANNATES.

1532. 'Calendar of Spanish Papers,' iv., ii. 390.

The Spanish Ambassador [Chapuys] to the Emperor.

Since my last despatch this king has had a motion made in Parliament to reduce the annates paid to the pope on vacant benefices, which he says he wants for himself as sovereign of all the clergy in his kingdom. He likewise proposes that the right of nomination, which undoubtedly belongs to the Apostolic See, should be suppressed, but the English prelates will not consent to this. He has, moreover, intimated to the papal nuncio that it is not himself who brings forward these measures, but the commoners who hate the pope most wonderfully, and that if his holiness choose to do something for him, he (the King) will be extremely thankful, and do wonders in opposing the Turk; otherwise he will do nothing to help him.

. . . Since my last nothing has been done in Parliament.

LONDON, 27th February, 1532.

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An attempt is now being made in this parliament to abrogate the authority of archbishops over other prelates, and give it to this king as sovereign chief of the English Church. The earl of Wiltshire is the principal advocate of this measure, and has been heard to say before a portion of the assembly that he is ready to maintain at the risk of his life and

property that no pope or prelate can exercise jurisdiction, promulgate laws, or enforce ordinances in this country; at which proposition, bold as it is, we must not be surprised, since both he and his daughter [Anne Boleyn] are considered to be true apostles of the new sect.

LONDON, *6th March*, 1532.

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Lately the king has personally attended three different sessions of parliament and played his cards so well that the article of the annates . . . has passed, notwithstanding the opposition of all the bishops and of two abbots; almost all the lords, who were thirty in number, voted in favour of the article with the single exception of the earl of Arundel, so that the majority was in reality for a bill calculated to reduce considerably the pope's annual revenue in this country. I pray to God that this disorderly behaviour may not be the source of worse evils for the Queen's case, which however has not yet been brought before parliament. Nor has any other important measure that I know of been discussed or announced.

LONDON, *20th March*, 1532.

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The article about the annates having passed the assembly of prelates and lords of this kingdom, the procurators and deputies of the towns and villages [the Commons] dissented, and offered as much opposition as they could to the measure, though they had almost all been chosen . . . at the king's wish. And although they were given to understand that in Spain, as well as in several other countries, the said annates had not been levied by the pope's collectors;

although it was clearly proved to them by the rolls and accounts that for the last fifty years nearly two millions of gold had left this country on account of the said annates ; although they had the king's promise that for a whole year no other attempt should be made against his holiness' authority, inasmuch as the king himself intended treating with him and coming to an agreement during that period, the Commons as I said strongly opposed the bill. At last the king, perceiving that remonstrances were in vain, thought of a plan, which proved ultimately successful, namely that those among the members who wished for the king's welfare and the prosperity of the kingdom, as they call it, should stand on one side of the House, and those who opposed the measure on the other. Several of them for fear of the king's indignation went over to the king's side, and in this manner was a majority obtained, and the bill passed, though somewhat amended from its original wording, for it says that after the expiration of one year the pope shall only receive 20 per cent. of the annates he used to take formerly, and that in case of his refusing to consent to the reduction, the two archbishops of this country, or in their place two bishops appointed by the king, shall have the power of conferring all ecclesiastical dignities, consecrating, etc. . . .

LONDON, *26th March*, 1532.



Rischgitz.

THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
(1489-1556).

From an engraving in Jesus College, Cambridge, after the picture by Holbein.

38. CRANMER MADE ARCHBISHOP.

1533. 'Calendar of Spanish Papers,' iv., ii. 585.

The Spanish Ambassador [Chapuis] to the Emperor.

. . . Dr. Cranmer had not been a week here on his return from the embassy to your majesty when to the great astonishment of everyone he was appointed by the king to the archbishopric of Canterbury, the first and most substantial benefice in all England, since its holder becomes primate and legate over all the kingdom. One of the causes why the said appointment has taken the people so much by surprise is that formerly it was not the custom for the king to fill up the vacancies before the expiration of the year within which the vacancy actually occurred, whereas the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury has not been vacant four months. There is still another reason which makes people wonder. That the expedition of the bulls may not be delayed the king has advanced out of his own pocket the sums required for that, which circumstance makes people suspect that such haste in the filling up of the see, and expedition of the bulls is chiefly owing to the king's wish that the Doctor may one of these days as archbishop and legate of this kingdom, sanction the divorce, and authorize in this parliament the new marriage. Indeed there is a rumour afloat that Dr. Cranmer, who is considered to be a Lutheran, has renounced the whole of his temporalities in favour of this king, which would be a fair way of compelling the rest of the English clergy to do the same. . . .

LONDON, *the 27th January*, 1533.

39. LIMITATION OF SHEEP FARMING.

1534. 'Record Office Calendar,' vii. 73. [Merri-
man's 'Thomas Cromwell,' i., p. 373.]
(*Modernized.*)

From Thomas Cromwell to Henry VIII.

Please it your most royal majesty to be advertised how that according to your most high pleasure and commandment I have made search for such patents and grants as your highness and also the most famous king your father—whose soul our Lord pardon—have granted unto sir Richard Weston, knight, your under treasurer of your exchequer, and the same have sent to your highness herein closed. It may also please your most royal majesty to know how that yesterday there passed your Commons a bill that no person within this your realm shall hereafter keep and nourish above the number of 2,000 sheep, and also that the eighth part of every man's land, being a farmer, shall for ever hereafter be put in tillage yearly ; which bill, if by the great wisdom, virtue, goodness and zeal that your highness beareth towards this your realm, might have good success and take good effect among your lords above, I do conjecture and suppose in my poor, simple and unworthy judgment, that your highness shall do the most noble, profitable and most beneficial thing that ever was done to the commonwealth of this your realm, and shall thereby increase such wealth in the same amongst the great number and multitude for your most loving and obedient subjects as never

was seen in this realm since Brutus' time. Most humbly prostrate at the feet of your magnificence, I beseech your highness to pardon my boldness in this writing to your grace; which only proceedeth for the truth, duty, allegiance and love I do bear to your majesty and the commonwealth of this your realm, as our Lord knoweth; unto whom I shall, as I am most bounden, incessantly pray for the countenance and prosperous conservation of your most excellent, most royal and imperial estate long to endure.

40. THE ACT OF SUPREMACY.

1534.

'Statutes of the Realm,' iii. 492.

Albeit the king's majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognised by the clergy of this realm in their convocations, yet nevertheless, for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirpate all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same, be it enacted, by authority of this present parliament, that the king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*; and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and crown thereof, as all honours, dignities, preëminences, jurisdictions, privi-

leges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity of the supreme head of the same church belonging and appertaining; and that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, record, order, correct, restrain and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity and tranquillity of this realm; any usage, foreign law, foreign authority, prescription or any other thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

41. EXECUTION OF SIR THOMAS MORE.

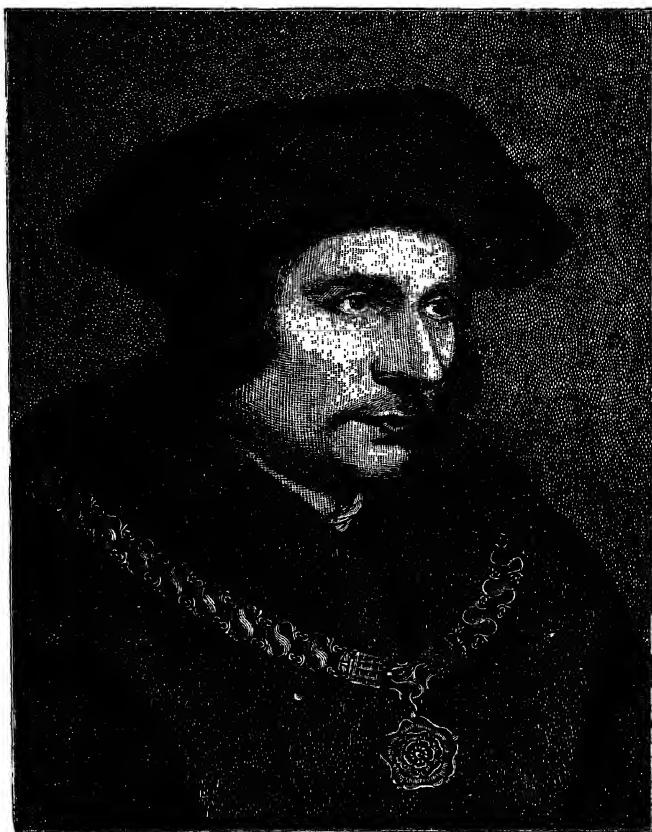
1535.

Roper, 'Life,' p. 95. (*Circa 1555.*)

Now after his arraignment, departed he from the bar to the Tower again, led by sir William Kingston, a tall, strong and comely knight, constable of the Tower, and his very dear friend. Who when he had brought him from Westminster to the Old Swan towards the Tower, there with a heavy heart, the tears running down his cheeks, bade him farewell. Sir Thomas More, seeing him so sorrowful, comforted him with as good words as he could, saying: 'Good Master Kingston, trouble not yourself, but be of

good cheer: for I will pray for you, and my good lady your wife, that we may meet in heaven together, where we shall be merry for ever and ever.' Soon after sir William Kingston, talking to me of sir Thomas More, said: 'In good faith, Mr. Roper, I was ashamed of myself that at my departing from your father I found my heart so feeble and his so strong, that he was fain to comfort me that should rather have comforted him.' When sir Thomas More came from Westminster to the Tower-ward again, his daughter, my wife, desirous to see her father, whom she thought she would never see in this world after, and also to have his final blessing, gave attendance about the Tower Wharf, where she knew he should pass by, before he could enter into the Tower. There tarrying his coming, as soon as she saw him, after his blessing upon her knees reverently received, she hasting towards him, without consideration or care of herself, pressing in amongst the midst of the throng and company of the guard, that with halberds and bills went round about him, hastily ran to him, and there openly in sight of them all, embraced him, and took him about the neck and kissed him. Who well liking her most natural and dear daughterly affection towards him, gave her his fatherly blessing, and many godly words of comfort besides. From whom after she was departed, she not satisfied with the former sight of her dear father, and like one that had forgotten herself, being all ravished with the entire love of her dear father, having respect neither to herself, nor to the press of people and multitude that were there about him, suddenly turned back again, ran to him as before,

took him about the neck, and divers times kissed him most lovingly ; and at last, with a full and heavy heart, was fain to depart from him : the beholding



SIR THOMAS MORE.

From the painting by Hans Holbein the younger.

whereof was to many of them that were present thereat so lamentable, that it made them for very sorrow thereof to weep and mourn.

So remained sir Thomas More in the Tower, more than a seven-night after his judgment. From whence, the day before he suffered, he sent his shirt of hair, not willing to have it seen, to my wife, his dearly beloved daughter, and a letter written with a coal, plainly expressing the fervent desire he had to suffer on the morrow, in these words following : ‘ I cumber you, good Margret, much, but would be sorry if it should be any longer than to-morrow. For to-morrow is St Thomas even, and the Utas [octave] of St. Peter, and therefore to-morrow I long to go to God : it were a day very meet and convenient for me. Dear Megg, I never liked your manner better towards me than when you kissed me last. For I like when daughterly love and dear charity hath no leisure to look to worldly courtesy.’ And so upon the next morrow, being Tuesday, Saint Thomas his eve, and the Utas of Saint Peter, in the year of our Lord 1535, according as he in his letter the day before had wished, early in the morning came to him sir Thomas Pope, his singular good friend, on message from the king and his council, that he should before nine of the clock of the same morning suffer death ; and that, therefore, he skould forthwith prepare himself thereto. ‘ Master Pope,’ quoth sir Thomas More, ‘ for your good tidings I heartily thank you. I have been always much bounden to the king’s highness for the benefits and honours that he had still from time to time most bountifully heaped upon me ; and yet more bounden am I to his grace for putting me into this place, where I have had convenient time and space to have remembrance of my end. And so help me God, most of all, master Pope,

am I bounden to his highness that it pleaseth him so shortly to rid me out of the miseries of this wretched world, and therefore will I not fail earnestly to pray for his grace, both here, and also in the world to come.' 'The king's pleasure is farther,' quoth master Pope, 'that at your execution you shall not use many words.' 'Master Pope,' quoth he, 'you do well to give me warning of his grace's pleasure, for otherwise, at that time, had I purposed somewhat to have spoken; but of no matter wherewith his grace, or any other, should have had cause to be offended. Nevertheless, whatsoever I intended, I am ready obediently to conform myself to his grace's commandment, and I beseech you, good master Pope, to be a mean to his highness, that my daughter Margaret may be at my burial.' 'The king is content already,' quoth Master Pope, 'that your wife, children and other friends shall have liberty to be present thereat.' 'Oh, how much beholden then,' said sir Thomas More, 'am I unto his grace, that unto my poor burial vouchsafeth to have so gracious consideration!' Wherewithal master Pope, taking his leave of him, could not refrain from weeping. Which sir Thomas More perceiving, comforted him in this wise: 'Quiet yourself, good master Pope, and be not discomforted, for I trust that we shall once in heaven see each other full merrily, where we shall be sure to live and love together, in joyful bliss eternally.' Upon whose departure, sir Thomas More, as one that had been invited to some solemn feast, changed himself into his best apparel. Which master lieutenant espying, advised him to put it off, saying, that he that should

have it was but a javill [worthless fellow]. ‘What, master lieutenant?’ quoth he, ‘shall I account him a javill that will do me this day so singular a benefit? Nay, I assure, were it cloth of gold, I should think it well bestowed on him, as Saint Cyprian did, who gave his executioner thirty pieces of gold.’ And albeit, at length, through master lieutenant’s importunate persuasion, he altered his apparel, yet after the example of the holy Martyr St. Cyprian, did he, of that little money that was left him, send an angel of gold to his executioner. And so was he by master lieutenant brought out of the Tower, and from thence led towards the place of execution. Where, going up the scaffold, which was so weak that it was ready to fall, he said merrily to the lieutenant: ‘I pray you, master lieutenant, see me safe up, and for my coming down let me shift for myself.’ Then desired he all the people thereabout to pray for him, and to bear witness with him, that he should now there suffer death in and for the faith of the holy Catholic Church. Which done, he kneeled down, and, after prayers said, turned to the executioner with a cheerful countenance, and said unto him: ‘Pluck up thy spirits, man, and be not afraid to do thine office: my neck is very short, take heed, therefore, thou strike not awry, for saving of thine honesty.’ So passed sir Thomas More out of this world to God, upon the very same day which he most desired.

Soon after his death came intelligence thereof to the emperor Charles. Whereupon he sent for sir Thomas Eliott, our English ambassador, and said to him: ‘My lord ambassador, we understand that the king your master hath put his faithful servant,

and grave wise councillor, sir Thomas More, to death.' Whereupon sir Thomas Eliott answered that 'he understood nothing thereof.' 'Well,' said the emperor, 'it is too true: and this will we say, that had we been master of such a servant, of whose doings ourselves have had these many years no small experience, we would rather have lost the best city of our dominions, than have lost such a worthy councillor.' Which matter was, by the same sir Thomas Eliott to myself, to my wife, to master Clement and his wife, to master John Heywood and his wife, and unto divers others his friends accordingly reported.

42. A POPULAR RISING AGAINST THE COMMISSIONERS.

Ellis, 'Original Letters,' 3rd Series, vol. iii., p. 41.

Please it your good worship [Sir T. Audley] to be advertised, master Combes and master Bolles, the king's commissioners within this county of Cheshire, were lately at Norton, within the same county, for the suppressing of the abbey there. And when they had packed up such jewels and stuff as they had there, and thought upon the morrow after to depart thence, the abbot gathered a great company together to the number of two or three hundred persons, so that the said commissioners were in fear of their lives, and were fain to take a tower there, and thereupon sent a letter unto me, ascertaining me what danger they were in, and desired me to come to assist them or else they were never like to come

thence. This letter came to me about nine of the clock in the night upon Sunday last, and about two of the clock in the same night I came thither with such of my lovers and tenants as I had near about me, and found divers fires made there, as well within the gates as without ; and the said abbot had caused an ox and other victuals to be killed and prepared for such of his company as he had then there. And it was thought on the morrow after, he had comfort to have had a great number more. Notwithstanding I used some policy and came suddenly upon them, so that the company that were there, fled, and some of them took poles and waters and it was so dark that I could not find them. And it was thought if the matter had not been quickly handled it would have grown to further inconvenience, to what danger God knoweth. Howbeit, I took the abbot and three of his canons and brought them to the king's castle of Halton and there committed them to the ward of the constable to be kept as the king's rebels, and afterward saw the said commissioners with their stuff conveyed thence ; and William Parker, the king's servant who is appointed to be the king's farmer there, restored to his possession. Wherefore it may like your good lordship that the king's grace may have knowledge hereof, and that his pleasure may be further known therein, which I shall be always ready and glad to accomplish to the uttermost of my power, as knoweth our Lord God, who ever preserve your good lordship with much honour.

At Dutton the 12th day of October by your assured

PIERS DUTTON, *Knight*.

43. GLASTONBURY : THE COMMISSIONERS' REPORT TO CROMWELL.

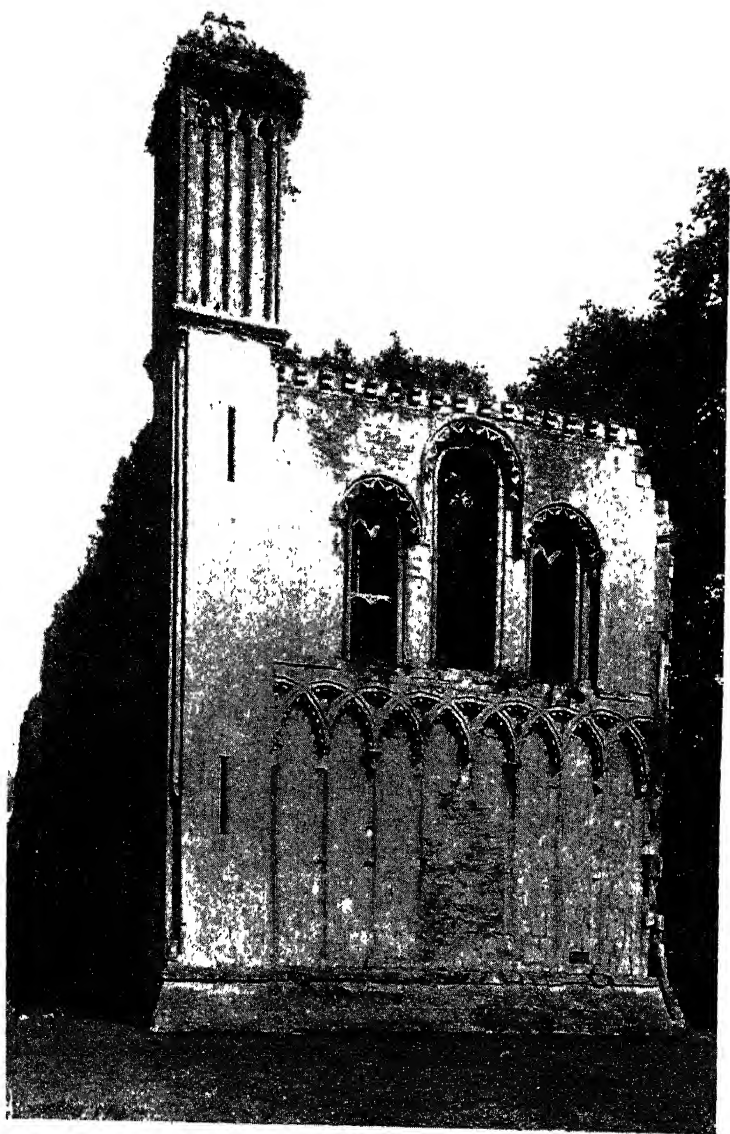
'Letters relating to Suppression of Monasteries,'
ed. Thomas Wright, p. 255 [Camden Society].
(*Spelling modernized.*)

Please it your lordship to be advertised, that we came to Glastonbury on Friday last past, about ten of the clock in the forenoon ; and for that the abbot was then at Sharpham, a place of his a mile and somewhat more from the abbey, we, without any delay, went into the same place, and there examined him upon certain articles. And for that his answer was not then to our purpose, we advised him to call to his remembrance that which he had then forgotten, and so declare the truth, and then came with him the same day to the abbey, and there anew proceeded that night to search his study for letters and books ; and found in his study secretly laid, as well a written book of arguments against the divorce of the king's majesty and the lady dowager, which we take to be a great matter, as also divers pardons, copies of bulls, and the counterfeit life of Thomas Becket in print ; but we could not find any letter that was material. And so we proceeded again to his examination concerning the articles we received from your lordship, in the answers whereof, as we take it, shall appear his cankered and traitorous heart and mind against the king's majesty and his succession. And so with as fair words as we could, we have conveyed him from hence into the tower, being but a very weak man and sickly. And as yet we have neither discharged servant nor monk ; but

now the abbot being gone, we will, with as much celerity as we may, proceed to the despatching of them. We have in money £300 and above ; but the certainty of plate and other stuff there as yet we know not, for we have not had opportunity for the same, but shortly we intend—God willing—to proceed to the same ; whereof we shall ascertain your lordship as shortly as we may.

This is also to advertise your lordship, that we have found a fair chalice of gold, and divers other parcels of plate, which the abbot had hid secretly from all such commissioners as have been there in times past ; and as yet he knoweth not that we have found the same. It may please your lordship to advertise us of the king's pleasure by this bearer, to whom we shall deliver the custody and keeping of the house, with such stuff as we intend to leave there convenient to the king's use. We assure your lordship it is the goodliest house of that sort that ever we have seen. We would that your lordship did know it as we do ; then we doubt not but your lordship would judge it a house meet for the king's majesty and for no man else : which is to our great comfort ; and we trust verily that there shall never come any double hood within that house again.

Also this is advertise your lordship, that there is never a doctor within that house ; but there be three bachelors of divinity, which be but meanly learned, as we can perceive. And thus our lord preserve your good lordship.



F. Frith and Co.

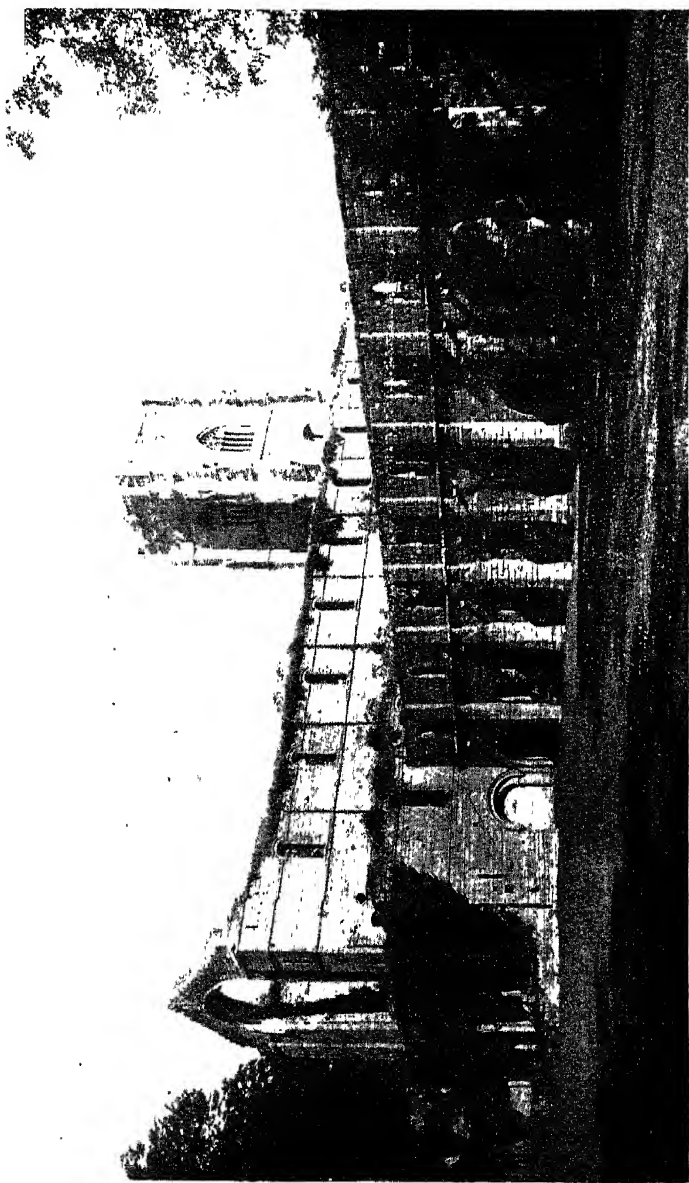
GLASTONBURY ABBEY.

44. THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE.

1536. Edward Hall's 'Chronicle,' ed. Whibley,
ii. 275. *Died* 1547.

All these things [the insurrection in Lincolnshire] thus ended, the country appeased and all things in quiet, the king's majesty retired and brake up his army.

But see! even within six days following was the king truly certified that there was a new insurrection made by the Northern men, which had assembled themselves into a huge and great army of warlike men, and well appointed both with captains, horse, harness and artillery to the number of 40,000 men, which had encamped themselves in Yorkshire. And these men had each of them to other bound themselves by their oath to be faithful and obedient to his captain; they also declared by their proclamations solemnly made that this their insurrection, should extend no farther but only to the maintenance and defence of the faith of Christ and deliverance of Holy Church, sore decayed and oppressed, and also for the furtherance as well of private as public matters in the realm, touching the wealth of all the king's poor subjects. They named this, their seditious and traitorous voyage, an holy and blessed pilgrimage. They also had certain banners in the field, whereupon was painted Christ hanging on the Cross on the one side and chalice with a painted cake in it on the other side, with divers other banners of like hypocrisy and feigned sanctity. The soldiers also had a certain cognisance



FOUNTAINS ABBEY.

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or badge embroidered or set upon the sleeves of their coats, which was the similitude of the five wounds of Christ, and in the midst thereof was written the name of our Lord ; and this, the rebellious garrison of Satan, with his false and counterfeited signs of holiness set forth and decked themselves, only to delude and deceive the simple and ignorant people.

After that the king's highness was credibly certified of this new insurged insurrection, he, making no delay in so weighty a matter, caused with all speed the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the marquess of Exeter, the earl of Shrewsbury with other, accompanied with his mighty and royal army, which was of great power and strength, forthwith to set upon the rebels : but when these noble captains and councillors approached the rebels and perceived their number and saw how they were bent to battle, they practised with great policy to have pacified all without bloodshedding ; but the Northern men were so stiffnecked that they would in no wise stoop, but stoutly stood and maintained their wicked enterprise. Wherefore the nobles abovesaid perceiving and seeing none other way to pacify these wretched rebels, agreed upon a battle. The battle was appointed and the day was assigned ; but see ! the same night, which was the night before the day of the battle appointed, fell a small rain—nothing to speak of ; but yet, as it were by a great miracle of God, the water, which was but a very small ford and that men, in manner, the day before might have gone dryshod over, suddenly rose to such a height, deepness and breadth that the like no man that there

did inhabit could tell that ever they saw it so afore ; so that the day, even when the hour of battle should come, it was impossible for the one army to come at the other.

After this appointment made between both the armies—disappointed, as it is to be thought, only by God, who extended his great mercy and had compassion on the great number of innocent persons, that in that deadly slaughter had like to have been murdered—could take no place, then by the great wisdom and policy of the said captains, a communication was had and a pardon of the king's majesty obtained for all the captains and chief doers of this insurrection ; and they promised that such things as they found themselves aggrieved withal they should gently be heard, and their reasonable petitions granted, and that their articles should be presented to the king's majesty, that by his highness' authority and wisdom of his Council all things should be brought to good order and conclusion : and with this order every man quietly departed ; and those which before were bent as hot as fire to fight, being letted thereof by God, went now peaceably to their houses and were as cold as water. *A domino factum est istud.*

45. AN EXHORTACYON TO THE NORTH.

1536.

Furnivall, 'Ballads from Manuscripts,'
p. 304.

[The ballad consists of 150 lines.]

O faithfull pepull of the boryalle Region,
 chieff bellicous champions, by dyvyn providens
 of god hie electe, to maike Reformatione,
 off gret myscheves and horryble offence,
 goo ye forward valyently in your peregrinacyon !
 It is chryste plesur, and to your saluacion !

* * * * *

this curseide cromwell by hys gret pollicie
 in this Realme haith causid gret exaction,
 them hyly promotyng that settet outte heresie ;
 by the aide of the chauncellors, vsyng exortacyon.
 Agans them all for to fyght, I think it conuenient,
 and noit for to seisse tyll ther lyves be spent.

Iff longer thei shold Reyne in this nobill Region,
 chrystes lawe to dystroie, it is ther intent ;
 then shortly wolde thei bryng us to wtter confusion ;
 our nobylles, for ther boldnesse, shortly shuld be
 shent,
 their heides to be loste; and that wer gret petye,
 this contre to be desolate of so nobile progenie.

Wherefor, faythfull comuners, be of gude chere ;
 youre entent to purssew, now taik upon honde ;
 differ not your matteres tyll a new yere ;
 I fere aide wyll come owt of a strang lande.
 the englysch commontie, now may ye be sure,
 your purposse will aide, thes wronges to Rekure.

* * * * *

In all oure distresse, leit ws noit Refrayne
 delygently for to pray, owr kynge for to save,
 And his vndowdtyd wiff, qwen lady Jhane,—
 And we do offende, pardone we do crave.—
 gode send hyme longe tyme to Reyne with
 eqwytye,
 That vertewe may abownde with gracyous
 plentye.

God Save oure Kynge !
 nam hoc cupit Auctor.

46. THE VISITATION OF BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

1536. 'Letters relating to Suppression of Monasteries,'
 ed. Thomas Wright, p. 144 [Camden Society].
(Spelling modernized.)

The Commissioners to Cromwell.

Please it your lordship to be advertised, that we have been at St. Edmund's Bury, where we found a rich shrine which was very cumbersome to deface. We have taken in the said monastery in gold and silver 5,000 marks and above, over and besides a well and rich cross with emeralds, as also divers and sundry stones of great value; and yet we have left the church, abbot and convent very well furnished with plate of silver necessary for the same. And forasmuch as we be credibly informed that there died of late two monks at Ely—whether they died of the sickness or no, we know not as yet—and there hath been great death in the town, notwithstanding we intend to make further search therein, so that if

we find not the matter too much dangerous, we will proceed, and else not until your pleasure be known therein. And this present day we depart from Bury towards Ely and we assure your lordship the abbot and convent be very well contented with everything that we have done there, as knoweth God, who preserve your lordship.

Your lordship's most bounden

JOHN WILLIAMS.

RICHARD POLLARD.

PHILIP PARIS.

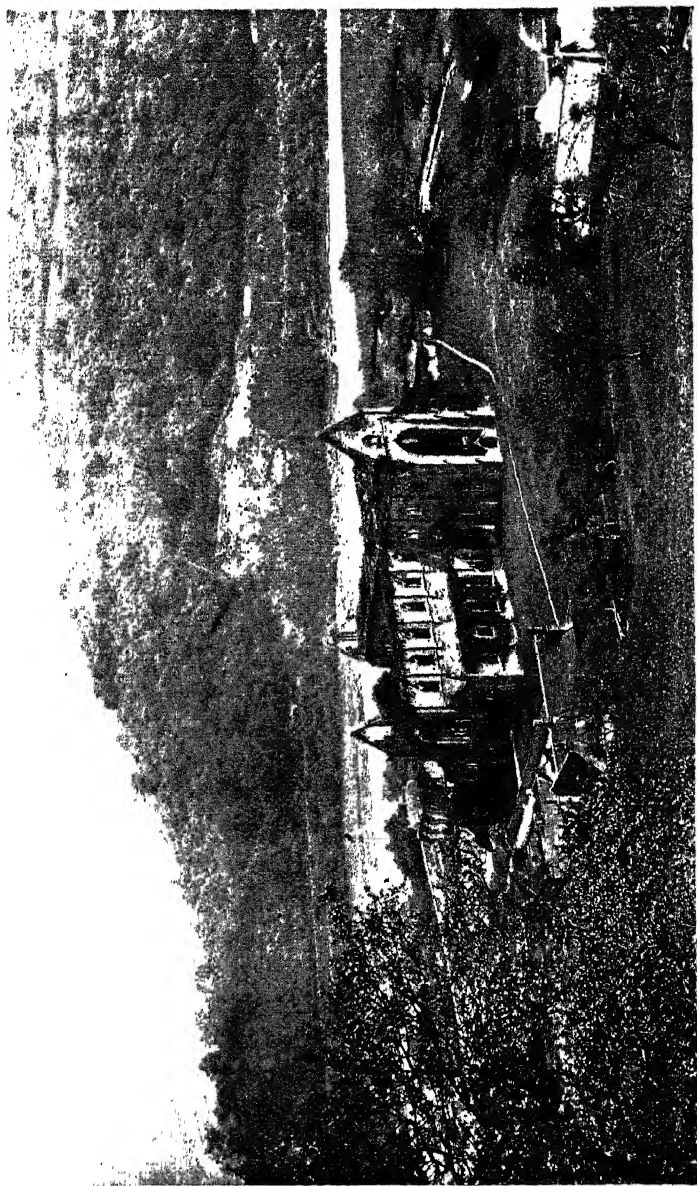
JOHN SMITH.

47. AN ABBOT'S PRESENT TO CROMWELL.

Ellis, 'Original Letters,' 3rd Series, ii., p. 313.

Right honourable Sir,

I humbly recommend me unto your mastership with my daily prayer for your goodness showed to me, beseeching you in the way of charity of your good continuance in the same. And whereas I have been informed it should be your pleasure that I should send forty pounds to your mastership, by the which you might the sooner stay mine adversity and trouble, which is daily wrought against me for my offices; the said forty pounds I have sent you by this bearer, humbly beseeching your mastership to use it as you shall think best for my quietness in Christ, and that I may have of the king's grace or of your mastership a protection that my ordinary have no such stroke in my house as he hath had, to the disorder of me and mine, and you shall be looked



TINTERN ABBEY.

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upon therefore at your own pleasure; and I shall as I am erst bounden daily pray for your mastership, whom our Lord God have in his blessed keeping with prosperous long life and increase of honour.

At Leicester abbey the 9th day of July, by your daily bedeman.

RICHARD (*the abbot of the same*).

To the right honourable Master Cromwell,
the King's Councillor.

48. DEMOLITION OF LEWES PRIORY.

1537. 'Letters relating to Suppression of Monasteries,'
ed. Thomas Wright, p. 180 [Camden Society].
(*Spelling modernized.*)

John Portinari to Cromwell.

My lord,

I humbly commend myself unto your lordship. The last I wrote unto your lordship was the 20th day of this present month by the hands of Mr. Williamson, by the which I advertised your lordship of the length and greatness of this church, and how we had begun to pull the whole down to the ground, and what manner and fashion they used in pulling it down. I told your lordship of a vault on the right side of the high altar, that was borne up with four great pillars, having about it five chapels, which be compassed in with the walls seventy stokes (?) of length, that is 210 feet. All this is down a Thursday and Friday last. Now we are plucking down a higher vault, borne up by four thick and gross pillars

fourteen foot from side to side, about in circumference forty-five foot. This shall down for our second work. As it goeth forward I will advise your lordship from time to time; and that your lordship may know with how many men we have done this, we brought from London seventeen persons, three carpenters, two smiths, two plumbers, and one that keepeth the furnace. Every of these attendeth to his own office; ten of them hewed the walls about, among the which there were three carpenters; these made props to underset where the others cut away; the others brake and cut the walls. These are men exercised much better than the men that we find here in the country. Wherefore we must both have more men, and other things also that we have need of; all the which I will within these two or three days tell your lordship by mouth. A Tuesday they began to cast the lead, and it shall be done with such diligence and saving as may be; so that our trust is your lordship shall be much satisfied with that we do; unto whom I most humbly commend myself, much desiring God to maintain your health, your honour, your heart's ease.

At Lewes the 24th of March 1537.

Your lordship's servant

JOHAN PORTINARI.

[There follows a list of the measurements of the abbey.]

49. CAERMARTHEN WANTS A GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

Ellis, 'Original Letters,' 3rd Series, iii. 245.
(*Modernized.*)

To the Right Honourable Lord Privy Seal.

Please it your honour to be advertised that the site mansion of the Greyfriars in the king's town of Caermarthen in South Wales, was of late surrendered into the king's hands, and is and hath ever since been void and desolate, running daily in continual ruin and decay; for there is no foot of lead upon any part thereof, and it were pity that such building in such a barren country should not be conveyed to some lawful and convenient use, for the maintenance of the commonwealth. Wherefore if it may please your worship to be a mean to the king's majesty that the mayor and aldermen of the said town may have and enjoy for ever, to them and their successors, the same site and mansion with three meadows of pasture ground, with a garden and orchard at the back-side, to the same belonging, being of the annual rent of eighteen shillings in the whole, so that they may have a Grammar School at the cost and charge of master Thomas Lloyd, chantor of St. David's, there maintained, and otherwise the same to bestow for the commonwealth and commodity of the same town.

The said mayor and aldermen now there for the time being, will give his majesty forty pounds sterling for the same site and mansion, with the appurtenances as is aforesaid, and to your good lordship twenty pounds for your good mediation

and travail taken to bring it to pass, over and besides the continual prayer and service not only of the said mayor and aldermen now being, but also of all the whole inhabitants of the said town and all the whole country thereabout. As knows our Lord God, who preserve your honour long to his pleasure. Amen.

By your lordship's bedesmen the mayor and aldermen of the king's town of Caermarthen in South Wales.

[NOTE.—The request was not granted, and Caermarthen had to wait for its Grammar School till the reign of Queen Elizabeth.]

50. THE RUINS OF EVESHAM ABBEY.

'Letters relating to Suppression of Monasteries,'
ed. Thomas Wright, p. 283 [Camden Society].

Philip Hoby to John Scudamore.

After my right hearty commendations had, whereas at my last communication had with you I desired you that I might have had some part of the stone that should be sold at Evesham for my money, the principal and best whereof, as I am informed, is sold; yet forasmuch as my necessity, which shall shortly happen in building, will require a great part of that stone that is unsold there; this shall be therefore right heartily to desire and pray you that ye will sell me residue that there remaineth, and I will pay therefore even as ye shall think reasonable. And if ye should not show me this pleasure, I were like in time of my necessity to be

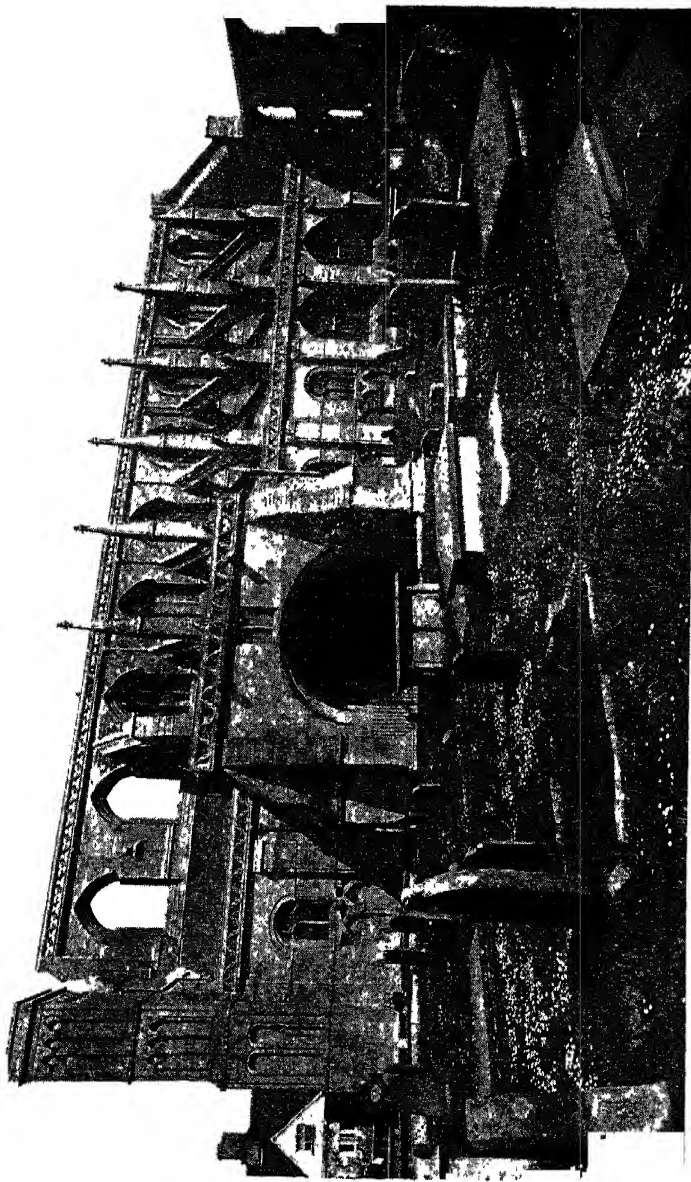
very destitute. And as concerning the spoil or waste that ye wrote to me of, that hath been done there, I assure you both I and mine be guiltless thereof; besides that it did cost me money to persons for a long time nightly to watch and to take heed lest anything should be misordered there. I trust also that at your there-being, and others the king's highness' commissioners, ye remember there was no little spoil made and I promise you since then your departure therehence, there hath been nothing minished to my knowledge; and if it be, I would the offenders were punished to the example of other. Thus I will leave to write unto you any more at this time, trusting that we shall meet shortly and talk thereof more largely; committing you to God's tuition, who preserve you with as good health as I would to myself, desiring to use me as ye know for your assured to my power. Written at the Court, the last of October. Your loving friend,

PHILIP HOBY.

51. THE BIBLE ORDERED TO BE READ IN CHURCHES.

1538. 'Record Office Calendar,' xiii. (1), 1304
(2). [Merriman's 'Thomas Cromwell,'
ii. 146.] (*Modernized.*)

Whereas it hath pleased the king's majesty, our most dread sovereign lord, and supreme head under God of this Church of England, for a declaration of the great zeal he beareth to the setting forth of God's word and to the virtuous maintenance of his commonwealth, to permit and command the Bible, being



MALMESBURY ABBEY.

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translated into our mother tongue, to be sincerely taught and declared by us the curates, and to be openly laid forth in every parish church, to the intent that all his good subjects, as well by reading thereof as by hearing the true explanation of the same, may first learn their duties to Almighty God and his majesty, and every of us charitably to use other, and then, applying themselves to do according to that they shall hear and learn, may both speak and do christianly and in all things as it beseemeth Christian men. Because his highness very much desireth that this thing being by him most godly begun and set forward may of all you be received, as is aforesaid, his majesty hath willed and commanded this to be declared unto you: that his grace's pleasure and high commandment is that in the reading and hearing thereof, first most humbly and reverently using and addressing yourselves unto it, you shall have always in your remembrance and memories that all things contained in this book is the undoubted will, law and commandment of Almighty God, the only and straight mean to know the goodness and benefits of God towards us, and the true duty of every Christian man to serve him accordingly; and that therefore reading this book with such mind and firm faith as is aforesaid, you shall first endeavour yourselves to conform your own livings and conversation to the contents of the same, and so by your good and virtuous example to encourage your wives, children and servants to live well and christianly according to the rule thereof; and if at any time by reading, any doubt shall come to any of you touching the sense and meaning of any

part thereof, that then, not giving too much to your own minds, fantasies and opinions, nor having thereof any open reasoning in your open taverns or alehouses, ye shall have recourse to such learned men as be or shall be authorised to preach and declare the same; so that avoiding all contentions and disputations in such alehouses and other places unmeet for such conferences, and submitting your opinions to the judgments of such learned men as shall be appointed in this behalf, his grace may well perceive that you use this most high benefit quietly and charitably, every of you to the edifying of himself, his wife and family; in all things answering to his highness' good opinion conceived of you, in the advancement of virtue and suppressing of vice, without failing to use such discreet quietness and sober moderation in the premises, as is aforesaid, as ye tender his grace's pleasure and intend to avoid his high indignation and the peril and danger that may ensue to you and every of you for the contrary.

And God save the King.

52. THE ACT OF THE SIX ARTICLES.

1539. Edward Hall's 'Chronicle,' ed. Whibley,
ii. 284. *Died* 1547.

The eight and twentieth day of April began a Parliament at Westminster, in the which Margaret, countess of Salisbury, Gertrude, wife to the marquess of Exeter, Reginald Pole a cardinal, brother to the lord Montague, sir Adrian Foscue and Thomas Dingley, knight of St. John, and divers other were

attainted of high treason ; which Foscue and Dingley were the tenth day of July beheaded.

In this parliament was an act made which bare this title : *An Act for abolishing of diversity of opinions, in certain articles concerning Christian religion.* This act established chiefly six articles ; whereof among the common people it was called the act of six articles ; and of some it was named the whip with six strings, and of some other and that of the most part it was named the bloody statute ; for of truth it so in short time after scourged a great number in the city of London, where the first quest for the inquiry of the offenders of the said statute sat at a church called Becket's House, named the Mercers' Chapel, that the said quest being of purpose selected and picked out among all the rest of the inhabitants of the city, that none might thereof be admitted which either had read any part of the Holy Scripture in English, or in any wise favoured such as either had read it or loved the preachers of it : insomuch as this quest was so zealous and fervent in the execution of this statute, that they among themselves thought it not only sufficient to inquire of the offenders of the said statute, but also by their fine wits and willing minds, they invented to inquire of certain branches of the same statute as they termed it ; which was not only to inquire who spake against masses, but who they were that seldom came unto them ; and also not only who denied the Sacrament to be Christ's very natural body, but also who held not up their hands at sacring time, and knocked not on their breasts. And they not only inquired who offended in the six articles, but also who came

seldom to the church, who took no holy bread nor holy water, who read the Bible in the church, or in communication contemned priests or images in the churches etc ; with a great number of such branches.

This appointed quest so sped themselves with the six articles and their own branches that in fourteen days' space there was not a preacher nor other person in the city of name, which had spoken against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, but he was wrapped in the six articles; insomuch as they indited and presented of suspicion to the number of 500 persons, and above. So that if the king's majesty had not granted his pardon—for that by the good lord Audley, lord chancellor, his grace was truly informed that they were indited of malice—a great many of them, which already was in prison, had been shortly after scourged in Smithfield with fiery faggots, that would have made the best blood in their bodies to have sprung. But most graciously at that time his grace remitted all; although, in the time that these six acts endured, which was eight years and more, they brought many an honest and simple person to their deaths; for such was the rigour of that law, that if two witnesses—false or true—had accused any and avouched that they had spoken against the Sacrament, there was then no way but death; for it booteth not to confess that his faith was contrary, or that he said not as his accusers reported; for they would believe the witnesses. Yea and sometime certain of the clergy, when they had no witnesses, would procure some; or else they were slandered.

53. FALL OF CROMWELL.

1540.

Edward Hall's 'Chronicle,' ed. Whibley,
ii. 306. *Died* 1547.

The 19th day of July, Thomas, lord Cromwell, late made earl of Essex, as before you have heard, being in the council chamber, was suddenly apprehended and committed to the Tower of London; the which many lamented, but more rejoiced, especially such as either had been religious men or favoured religious persons; for they banqueted and triumphed together that night, many wishing that that day had been seven year before; and some fearing lest he should escape, although he were imprisoned, could not be merry. Other who knew nothing but truth by him, both lamented him and heartily prayed for him. But this is true, that of certain of the clergy he was detestably hated, and specially of such as had borne swynge, and by his means was put from it; for indeed he was a man, that in all his doings seemed not to favour any kind of popery, nor could not abide the snuffing pride of some prelates; which undoubtedly, whatsoever else was the cause of his death, did shorten his life and procure the end that he was brought unto; which was that the 19th day of the said month, he was attainted by parliament and never came to his answer; which law, many reported, he was the causer of the making thereof--but the truth thereof I know not. The articles for which he died appeareth in the record where his attainder is written, which are too long to be here rehearsed; but to conclude he was there attainted of

heresy and high treason. And the 28th day of July he was brought to the scaffold on Tower Hill, where he said these words following :

‘I am come hither to die and not to purge myself, as may happen some think that I will ; for if I should so do I were a very wretch and miser. I am by the law condemned to die, and thank my Lord God that hath appointed me this death for mine offence. For since the time that I have had years of discretion I have lived a sinner and offended my Lord God ; for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness. And it is not unknown to many of you that I have been a great traveller in this world, and being but of a base degree was called to high estate ; and since the time I came thereunto, I have offended my prince, for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness, and beseech you all to pray to God with me, that He will forgive me. O Father forgive me, O Son forgive me, O Holy Ghost forgive me. O three Persons in one God forgive me. And now I pray you that be here to bear me record, I die in the catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, no nor doubting in any sacrament of the Church. Many have slandered me and reported that I have been a bearer of such as have maintained evil opinions ; which is untrue. But I confess that like as God by his Holy Spirit, doth instruct us in the truth, so the devil is ready to seduce us ; and I have been seduced. But bear me witness that I die in the catholic faith of the Holy Church. And I heartily desire you to pray for the king’s grace, that he may long live with you in health and prosperity ; and after him that his son prince Edward, that goodly imp, may long reign

over you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I waver nothing in my faith.'

And then made he his prayer, which was long, but not so long as both godly and learned; and after committed his soul into the hands of God; and so patiently suffered the stroke of the axe by a ragged and butcherly miser who very ungoodly performed the office.

54. INVASION OF SCOTLAND.

1544.

Edward Hall's 'Chronicle,' ed. Whibley,
ii. 346. *Died* 1547.

This year the king sent a great army into Scotland by sea, and he made the earl of Hertford lieutenant-general of the same, and the viscount Lisle high admiral. Which valiant captains so sped them that the third day of May the lord admiral arrived with all his fleet, which was 200 sail, in the Firth; where he landed divers of his men and there took divers vessels which after did high service. And shortly they approached unto the town of Leith, where they landed their men and marched forward in three great battles; whereof my lord admiral led the vaward, the earl of Shrewsbury the arrearward and the noble earl of Hertford, being lieutenant, the battle. Where they found the Scots assembled to the number of 6,000 horsemen, beside footmen, to stop the passage of the army. And at the first the Scots made toward the Englishmen as though they would have set on the vaward; but when they perceived the Englishmen so willing to encounter with them, namely the cardinal

who was there present, which perceived the devotion the Englishmen had to see his holiness, after certain shot on both sides, they made a sudden retreat and leaving their artillery behind them fled towards Edinburgh. The first man that fled was the cardinal, like a valiant champion, and with him the governor, the earl of Huntly, Murray, and Bothwell, and many other great men of the realm. And shortly after, the Englishmen, maugre all the Scots might do, entered the town of Leith, where that night the army encamped them; and there they found such riches as they thought not to have found in any town of Scotland.

The next day the army went towards Edinburgh town; and when they approached near, the provost of the town, accompanied with one or two burgesses and two or three officers at arms, desired to speak with the king's lieutenant, and in the name of all the town said that the keys of the town should be delivered unto his lordship, conditionally that they might go with bag and baggage, and the town to be saved from fire. Whereunto answer was made by the said lord-lieutenant that whereas the Scots had so manifestly broken their promises, confirmed by oaths and seals and certified by the whole parliament, as is evidently known to the whole world, he was sent thither by the king's highness to take vengeance of their detestable falsehood, to declare and show the force of his highness' sword to all such as should make any resistance unto his grace's power, sent thither for that purpose. And therefore he told them resolutely that unless they would yield up the town frankly without condition and cause man

woman and child to issue into the fields, submitting them to his will and pleasure, he would put them to the sword and their town to the fire. The provost answered that it were better for them to stand to their defence. Whereupon commandment was given to the said provost and officers at arms upon their peril to depart. And forthwith the lord-lieutenant sent to the vaward that they should march towards the town; which courageously set forward; and the English gunners manfully set on the gates, especially sir Christopher Morris, that they did beat the Scots from their ordnance, and so entered the gate called Cannongate by fine force and there slew a great number of the Scots. And finally it was determined by the said lord-lieutenant utterly to ruinate and destroy the said town with fire; which thing immediately was attempted; but because night was come the army withdrew to their camp, and then afresh the next day set fire where none was before; which continued that day and two days after burning.

And shortly after came unto this army by land 4,000 light horsemen sent by the king; which after they were come the army forsook their ships and sent them home laden with spoil and gunshot, which they found there, and dislodged their camp out of the town of Leith, and set fire in every house and burnt it to the ground; and so returned home by land, through all the main country of Scotland, burning and destroying every pile, fortress and village that was in their walk; and so with great honour, to the great rejoicing as well of the king's majesty as of all his faithful and loving subjects, they returned again into England, with the loss scant of forty persons.

55. CATHOLIC RE-ACTION.

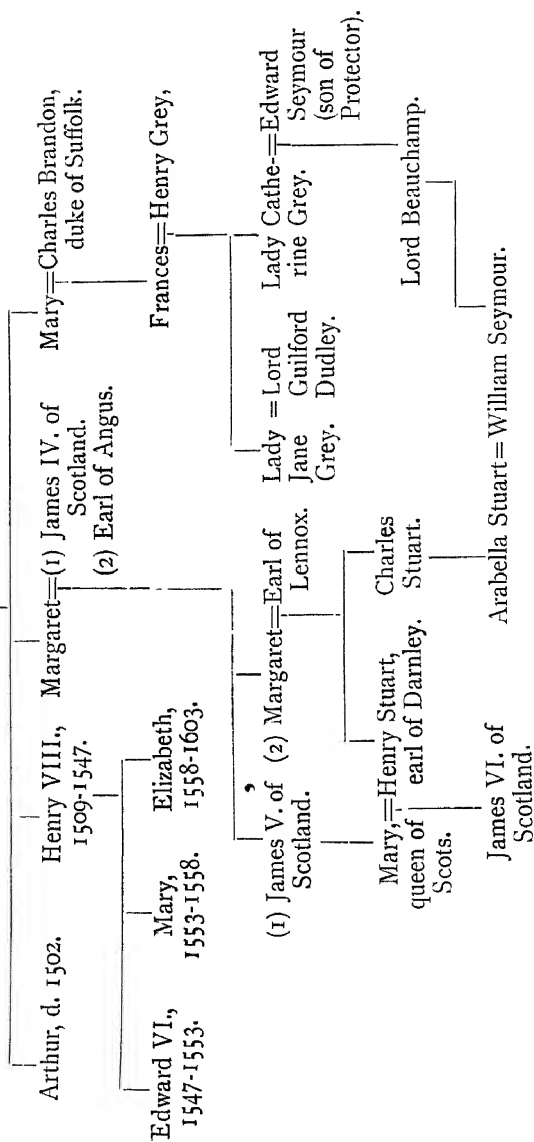
1545. 'Statutes at Large,' 34 Henry VIII., c. 1.

Recourse must be had to the Catholick and Apostolic Church for the decision of controversies; and therefore all books of the Old and New Testaments in English, being of Tyndal's false translation, or comprising any matter of Christian religion, articles of the faith, or Holy Scripture, contrary to the doctrine set forth since *Anno Dom.* 1540, or to be set forth by the king, shall be abolished. No printer or bookseller shall utter any of the aforesaid books. No persons shall play in interlude, sing, or rhyme, contrary to the said doctrine. No person shall retain any English books or writings concerning matter against the holy and blessed sacrament of the altar, or for the maintenance of anabaptists, or other books abolished by the king's proclamation. There shall be no annotations or preambles in Bibles or New Testaments in English. The Bible shall not be read in English in any church. No women or artificers, prentices, journeymen, servingmen of the degree of yeomen or under, husbandmen, nor labourers, shall read the New Testament in English. Nothing shall be taught or maintained contrary to the king's instructions. And if any spiritual person preach, teach, or maintain anything contrary to the king's instructions or determinations, made or to be made, and shall be thereof convict, he shall for his first offence recant, for his second abjure and bear a fagot, and for his third shall be adjudged an heretic, and be burned and lose all his goods and chattels.

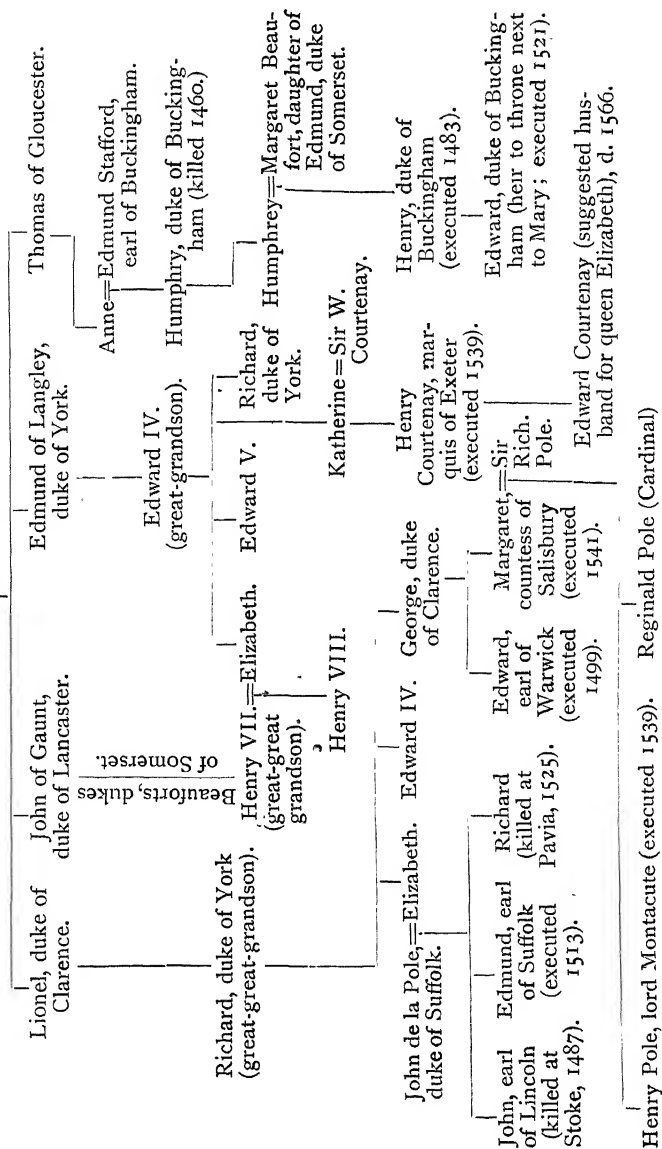
GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

I.—THE HOUSE OF TUDOR.

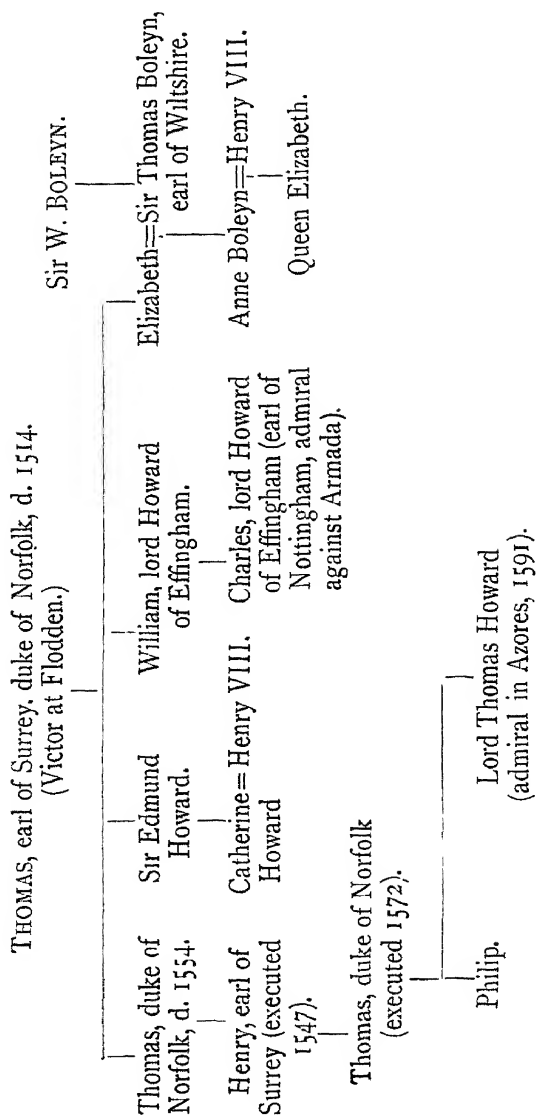
HENRY VII.



EDWARD III.



III.—THE HOWARDS AND BOLEYN.



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PART I

REVIEW OF AUTHORITIES

A SHORT review of the authorities used in the compilation of this book is here subjoined. The references in the text refer to the editions here mentioned.

1. POLYDORE VERGIL wrote an 'Historia Anglica' in twenty-seven books. The last but one is devoted to the reign of Henry VII., and is of primary importance, because Vergil, although an Italian, had the best opportunities of studying events in England at first hand, and spared no efforts to secure accuracy. He came to England in 1502. He has been partly edited for the Camden Society by Sir H. Ellis. As his work has been practically translated by Hall and Bacon, we have given here the English authors only.
2. BERNARD ANDRÉ, a native of Toulouse, was Henry VII.'s historiographer and poet laureate. His prose work, 'De Vita et Gestis Henrici Septimi,' and his 'Annals' in verse, have been edited in the Rolls Series by J. Gairdner.
3. LORD BACON'S 'History of Henry VII.,' edited by Dr. Lumby, is a secondary authority, Bacon having usually followed Hall, who in his turn reproduced Polydore Vergil.

His merit consists 'in his sagacity, his humour, his breadth and keenness of vision, and the brilliancy of his style'—H. A. L. Fisher.

4. VENETIAN STATE PAPERS, a most valuable collection, have been calendared in the Rolls Series by R. Brown. They consist for the most part of reports to the Venetian Government by its ambassadors, and are marked by great insight and accuracy of detail.
5. SPANISH STATE PAPERS are a similar collection, and have been also calendared for the Rolls Series.
6. THE VENETIAN RELATION, 'a curious and brilliant description,' evidently written by an official at the Venetian Embassy in London, has been edited by C. A. Sneyd for the Camden Society.
7. The STATE PAPERS for the reign of Henry VIII. were published by the Record Commission in eleven volumes, 1830-1852.
8. A similar collection is the LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, of which up to now nineteen volumes have been calendared in the Rolls Series.
9. ORIGINAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ENGLISH HISTORY are in three series (11 vols.). They were edited by Sir Henry Ellis, 1824-1846.
10. EDWARD HALL (died 1547) wrote a chronicle called 'The Union of the Families of Lancaster and York.' It is a picturesque work, written by an enthusiastic upholder of the Tudor dynasty. As will be seen from our extracts, Hall was an ardent Protestant. The first part of the chronicle is largely a translation of Polydore Vergil's work; the second part has been edited by C. Whibley, under the title of 'Life of Henry VIII.' (2 vols.), 1904; and for that reign we have used this edition; for Henry VII. we have used Ellis's edition of 1809.
11. GEORGE CAVENDISH wrote a 'Life of Cardinal Wolsey,' in whose service the author spent part of his life as gentleman usher. The references in the text are to H. Morley's edition in the Camelot Series. It is also published in the 'Temple Classics.'
12. WILLIAM ROPER was Sir Thomas More's son-in-law, and wrote the charming 'Biography of Sir Thomas More.' It was reprinted in 'The King's Classics,' 1903.
13. THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF THOMAS CROMWELL,

edited by R. B. Merriman, 1902, contains all Cromwell's letters known to exist.

14. THE SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERIES, edited by T. Wright for the Camden Society, 1843, is a collection of papers and letters relating to that subject.
15. RICHARD HAKLUYT, student of Christ Church, made a great collection of voyages, which he called 'The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Trafficks and Discoveries of the English Nation.' A fine edition has been lately published by Messrs. Maclehose, and from this our extracts are taken. A cheaper edition is in 'Everyman's Library.'
16. SIR THOMAS MORE'S 'Utopia' is, as its name implies, an account of an ideal commonwealth. Its interest now lies partly in the condition of social life in More's own country and time. A good annotated text is that of H. B. Cotterill. (Macmillan, 1908.)

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DATE SUMMARY

PART I

[Figures in heavier type refer to number of extract.]

I. THE NEW MONARCHY—THE SUPREMACY OF THE CROWN.

1485. Battle of Bosworth. Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, crowned king as Henry VII.

Imprisonment of Edward, earl of Warwick (Genealogical Table, p. 121).

1486. Henry VII. marries Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV.

A rising headed by Lord Lovel and the Staffords, cousins of Buckingham, suppressed (Genealogical Table, p. 121).

1487. Foundation of the Court of Star Chamber, a committee of the Council, to enforce respect for the law on nobles and their retainers (3). For the same purpose is passed the Statute against Livery and Maintenance.

Lambert Simnel impersonates Edward, earl of Warwick, still a prisoner in the Tower. Well received in Ireland, he crosses to England, and is defeated at Stoke, where John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, is killed (2, and Genealogical Table, p. 121).

1490. Henry, in alliance with Spain and Maximilian of Burgundy, undertakes to secure the independence of Brittany under its duchess, Anne ; but in the following year Charles VIII. of France annexes Brittany to France by marrying Anne (5).

1492. Perkin Warbeck, claiming to be Richard, duke of York, son of Edward IV. lands in Ireland. He is recognised

by his supposed aunt, Margaret of Burgundy, and Charles VIII. (7). Henry invades France (5). Treaty of Étaples secures peace by Charles paying a large sum to Henry and ceasing to support Warbeck (6).

Columbus makes his first voyage to America (4).

1493. Warbeck joins Margaret in Flanders.

1494. Poyning's Law (8) ordains that—

(i.) All English laws are to hold good in Ireland.

(ii.) No Parliaments are to be held in Ireland without the king's consent.

(iii.) Irish statutes are to be subject to the king's consent.

1495. Warbeck, after an unsuccessful landing in Kent, goes to Scotland, where he is recognised by the king.

A statute passed declaring that service to the king for the time being cannot be held as treason (9).

1496. Intercursus Magnus, a commercial treaty with the duke of Burgundy, secures greater freedom of trade and drives Warbeck from Flanders (11).

James of Scotland invades England on behalf of Warbeck.

1497. Warbeck has to leave Scotland owing to peace with England. He lands in Cornwall, but takes refuge at Beaulieu, and is subsequently captured (13).

John and Sebastian Cabot sail to America (12).

1499 Warbeck escapes, but is recaptured and executed along with the earl of Warwick.

1501. Marriage of Arthur, prince of Wales, and Katharine of Aragon.

1502. Death of Arthur and betrothal of Katharine to Prince Henry.

The king's daughter, Margaret, marries James IV. of Scotland.

1506. Philip of Burgundy, compelled to take shelter from a storm in Weymouth, has to renew the treaty of 1495, and to surrender Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk (15 and Genealogical Table, p. 121).

1509. Death of the king and accession of Henry VIII.

2. WOLSEY'S GOVERNMENT—ENGLAND AND THE BALANCE OF POWER.

1509. Henry marries Katharine of Aragon.
Execution of Empson and Dudley, the extortionate ministers of Henry VII.
1511. Henry joins the Holy League, a confederacy formed by the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain, to drive the king of France from Italy (17).
1513. Execution of the earl of Suffolk (*cf.* 1506 *supra*, and Genealogical Table, p. 121).
Battle of the Spurs, an English victory over the French (18). Capture of Tournai.
Battle of Flodden and death of James IV. of Scotland (19).
1514. Peace made with France and Scotland. The king of France marries Mary, Henry's sister.
1517. Wolsey, created cardinal and lord chancellor two years previously, is allowed by the king to become papal legate.
Luther first comes into collision with the papacy.
1519. Charles, ruler of Spain, Naples, Austria and the Netherlands, nephew of Katharine of Aragon, becomes emperor.
1520. The emperor Charles visits England.
Trouble in Ireland
Henry goes to France and meets Francis, the French king, at the Field of the Cloth of Gold (22). Immediately afterwards he pays and receives visits from the emperor, and in the end England joins Spain against France (25).
1521. Execution of the duke of Buckingham, heir to the throne after Henry's daughter Mary, who is betrothed to the emperor (24 and Genealogical Table, p. 121).
Sir Thomas More, Speaker of the House of Commons (27).
Henry receives from the pope the title of 'Defender of the Faith' for writing a book against Luther (*cf.* 20).
1522. English invasions of France in this and the following year prove unsuccessful.

1523. Wolsey's personal demand of a grant from Parliament only obtains half the sum asked for (28). Parliament had not met for eight years, and money had been raised by benevolences.
1524. Wolsey suppresses some smaller monasteries in order to endow his new foundations at Ipswich and Oxford (29).
1525. Popular discontent against the government (31).
Francis I., king of France, defeated and captured by the emperor at Pavia. Henry, to restore the balance of power, makes an alliance with France.
Tyndale's English translation of the New Testament published.
1527. Henry seeks to divorce Katharine of Aragon.
1528. The pope names Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio as a commission to try the case.
1529. The pope, under pressure of Katharine's nephew, the emperor, now in possession of Italy, calls the case to Rome. At the same time the emperor makes the Peace of Cambrai with France.
Wolsey, thus unsuccessful in the 'king's business' and in his foreign policy, is disgraced (34 and 35).
Parliament (the 'Reformation Parliament') summoned.
1530. Death of Wolsey on his way to London to answer charges of treason (36).
He is succeeded as chancellor by Sir Thomas More.
Cranmer suggests consulting the universities on the question of the divorce.

3. THE REFORMATION—THE POLITICAL SEVERANCE FROM ROME.

1531. The clergy are heavily fined for recognising Wolsey as papal legate, and thus breaking the Statute of *Præmunire*. They are made to acknowledge Henry as 'Supreme Head of the Church, as far as the law of Christ will allow,' with the object of making the pope consent to the divorce. At the same time they petition the king to disallow the payment of annates, the first year's income after election to a see, to the pope (37).

1532. Sir Thomas More resigns the chancellorship.
1533. Cranmer is made archbishop of Canterbury (38), and at once divorces Katharine. Henry marries Anne Boleyn. All appeals to Rome forbidden by statute.
1534. Annates Act forbids further payment of them to Rome (37).
 The clergy in convocation may henceforth only legislate with the king's consent.
 Act of Succession declares Anne's children heirs to the throne.
 Act of Supremacy makes the king supreme in ecclesiastical matters, and abolishes the pope's jurisdiction in England (40).
 An Act passed limiting sheep-farming (39).
1535. Execution of Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, for refusing to accept the Acts of Succession and Supremacy (41).
 Thomas Cromwell, appointed vicar-general, sets on foot a visitation of the monasteries (42, etc.).
1536. Suppression of the smaller monasteries (*i.e.*, those with an income under £200 a year) ; they are nearly 400 in number. Their incomes go partly to the new nobility, who are thus pledged to the policy of suppressing them (43, etc.).
 Parliament declares the faith of the Church of England to be founded upon the Bible and the teaching of the early Church, but retains most of the ancient ceremonies.
 Execution of Anne Boleyn and Henry's marriage to Jane Seymour.
 The Pilgrimage of Grace (44) ; a Yorkshire rising to protest against the suppression of the monasteries and the Statute of Uses—a Land Act by which persons who before had the use only of lands became the actual possessors.
 Final Union of England and Wales by dividing the Principality into shires on the English system and by giving representation in Parliament.
 The Irish chiefs, after the failure of the Geraldine revolt in the previous year, submit to Henry and receive grants from the confiscated monasteries.

1537. Suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace.
Death of Jane Seymour.
1538. Coverdale's translation of the Bible licensed by the king ; an English Bible is to be provided in every parish church (51).
1539. Royal proclamations are held by Parliament to have the weight of Acts of Parliament.
Suppression of the greater monasteries.

4. THE CATHOLIC REACTION.

1539. The Act of the Six Articles (52) declares for—
 (i.) Truth of Transubstantiation.
 (ii.) Validity of Communion in one kind.
 (iii.) Celibacy of the clergy.
 (iv.) Continuance of private masses.
 (v.) Retention of auricular confession.
 (vi.) Binding force of vows of chastity.
1540. Cromwell, anxious to ally Henry to the Lutheran princes of the Continent, negotiates a marriage between the king and Anne of Cleves, niece of the elector of Saxony. The marriage is soon dissolved, and leads to the fall and execution of Cromwell (53).
 The king marries Katharine Howard, niece of the duke of Norfolk, a strong opponent of the Reformers.
 Lutherans burnt in England.
1542. Execution of Katharine Howard.
 Henry assumes the title of king of Ireland.
 Defeat of the Scots at Solway Moss. Death of James V., and accession of the infant Mary, Queen of Scots.
1543. Negotiations for marrying Mary, Queen of Scots, to Edward, prince of Wales, fall through. Scotland joins France and Henry joins the emperor.
1544. Invasion of Scotland by Lord Hertford (54); sack of Edinburgh.
 Invasion of France and capture of Boulogne by Henry.
1546. The duke of Norfolk and his son, the earl of Surrey, are imprisoned on a charge of treason. The latter is executed at the beginning of the next year.
1547. Death of the king and accession of Edward VI., son of Jane Seymour, in accordance with the Act of Succession of 1536.

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PART II

INTRODUCTION

WHEN King Henry died, the swing of the political pendulum had brought power into the hands of the Protestants. Their excesses had the natural result that the nation was more than ready to accept a restoration of the old religion under Queen Mary. But Mary's own training and temper were not likely to make for peace, and the noble families who had benefited by the confiscation of the Church lands had their own reasons for discountenancing a permanent settlement on lines that Mary could approve. The Spanish marriage was not popular, and national antipathy came to be blended with religious strife.

It was this national feeling that gave Elizabeth—herself a thorough Englishwoman—the basis for her solution of the difficulty. Her task, carried out somewhat illogically, as is usually the case with compromises in such matters, was to provide a practical adjustment on national lines. She had many circumstances in her favour; not only was Romanism discredited in England by foreign interference—as, for instance, on behalf of Mary, Queen of Scots—but events on the Continent—the revolt

of the Netherlands, civil war in France, and Spanish aggression generally—allowed her time to realize her efforts without fear of foreign intervention. And then, when at last Philip's patience was exhausted, she had so nursed the national feeling of her people that all sects united to challenge invasion. The victory over the Armada merely sealed what had already been secured.

Apart from the main interest in the development of the Reformation drama—if it is possible to make any such separation—the period is full of new life and enterprise. A new spaciousness, in every sense, was the characteristic of the time. The fine daring of English seamen—which Spaniards then and Englishmen since have called buccaneering—fired the national imagination, and is reflected in a literature equally fine and daring. Both sides of the same spirit were focussed in the Queen's court, where men of action and men of letters were equally favoured.

ENGLISH HISTORY FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

PART II

1. THE ABOLITION OF IMAGES.

1547.

‘Statutes of the Realm,’ iv. 110.

WHEREAS the king’s most excellent majesty hath of late set forth and established by authority of the Parliament an uniform, quiet and godly order for common prayer in a book entitled, *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments*, to be used and observed in the said Church of England, agreeably to the order of the primitive Church, much more comfortable unto his loving subjects than other diversity of service, as heretofore of long time hath been used. . . .

Be it therefore enacted by the king, our sovereign lord, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, in the present parliament assembled, that all books called antiphonaries, missals, grails, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, portuasses, primers in Latin and English . . . shall be by authority of this present act clearly and utterly abolished, extinguished, and forbidden forever to be used or kept in the realm.

And be it further enacted, that if any person or persons, of what estate, degree or condition soever, that now have or hereafter shall have in his, her or



EDWARD VI.

From a painting by Holbein at Windsor.

their custody, any books or writings of the sorts aforesaid, or any images of stone, timber, alabaster or earth, graven, carved or painted, which heretofore

have been taken out of any church or chapel, and do not before the last day of June next ensuing deface and destroy, or cause to be defaced and destroyed, the same images, and deliver all and every the same books to the mayor, bailiff, constable, or churchwardens of the town where such books then shall be, to be by them delivered over openly within three months to the archbishop, bishop or chancellor, to the intent the said archbishop, bishop or chancellor cause them immediately either to be openly burned or otherwise defaced and destroyed, shall for every such book or books willingly retained in his, her, or their hands or custody within the realm, or elsewhere within any of the king's dominions, after the last day of June (and be therefore lawfully convict) forfeit and lose to the king, our sovereign lord, for the first offence twenty shillings, and for the second offence shall forfeit and lose (being therefore lawfully convict) four pounds, and for the third offence shall suffer imprisonment at the king's will.

2. VOX POPULI, VOX DEI.

1547-48. Furnivall, 'Ballads from Manuscripts,' p. 143.

[The ballad from which the extract is taken has over 800 lines.]

And frist to declare,
a breffe what they are,
to make short rehersall,
as well spyrytuall as temprall:
the laweres and the lawlorde,
the graett ryve and the recorde,—

the Recorde I mean, ys he
 that hathe offys, or ells fee,
 to serve our noble kenge
 in his accomttes and reconnyng
 of his treasure Surmountyng—
 lorde chawncler and chawnclares,
 maisteres of mynttes and monyares,
 Secundares and Surwayeres,
 awdateres and Receveeres,
 customeres and cowntrolleres,
 purvayeres and prowlleres,
 marchantes of graett sallys,
 with the maisteres of woddsayles,
 with grassyeres and-regratteres,
 with mr. wylyames of schepe-maisteres,
 and Such lyke commen wasteres
 that of errabell grownd makes pasteres,
 and paye-masters, such as bythe
 with Trappes your golden Smythe,
 with iij or iiij grett cloytheeres,
 and the holle lybell of laweres :

* * * *

O wortheyest protector
 be herein corrector !

* * * *

vox populi, vox Dei :
 thus doth wrytt, and thus dothe saye,
 with this salme, ' myserere mei.'
 o most nobell Keng,
 Consider well this thinge !
 God save the kenge !

3. HUGH LATIMER AND THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

1549. Latimer's First Sermon, in Arber's Reprints,
p. 38. (*Spelling modernized*)

. . . You landlords, you rent-raisers, I may say you steplords, you unnatural lords, you have for your possessions yearly too much. For that heretofore went for xx or xl pound by year (which is an honest portion to be had *gratis* in one lordship, of another man's sweat and labour) now is it let for fifty or a hundred pound by year. Of this too much cometh this monstrous and portentous dearth made by man, notwithstanding God doth send us plentifully the fruits of the earth, mercifully, contrary unto our deserts; notwithstanding too much, which these rich men have, causeth such dearth, that poor men (which live of their labour) can not with the sweat of their face have a living, all kinds of victuals is so dear, pigs, geese, capons, chickens, eggs, etc.

These things with other are so unreasonably enhanced. And I think verily, that if this continue, we shall at length be constrained to pay for a pig a pound. I will tell you my lords and masters, this is not for the king's honour. Yet some will say: Knowest thou what belongeth unto the king's honour better than we? I answer that the true honour of a king, is most perfectly mentioned and pointed forth in the Scriptures, of which, if ye be ignorant, for lack of time that ye cannot read it, albeit, that your counsel be never so politic, yet is it not for the king's honour. What his honour meaneth ye cannot tell. It is the king's honour that his subjects be led in the

true religion. That all his prelates and clergy be set about their work in preaching and studying, and not to be interrupted from their charge. Also it is the king's honour that the common wealth be advanced, that the dearth of these foresaid things be provided for, and the commodities of this Realm so employed, as it may be to the setting his subjects on work, and keeping them from idleness. And herein rested the king's honour and his office ; so doing, his account before God shall be allowed and rewarded. Furthermore, if the king's honour (as some men say) standeth in the great multitude of people, then these graziers, enclosers and rent-rearers, are hinderers of the king's honour ; for where there have been a great many of householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog ; so they hinder the king's honour most of all. My lords and masters, I say also, that all such proceedings are against the king's honour (as I have a part declared before), and as far as I can perceive, do intend plainly, to make the yeomanry slavery and the clergy slavery. For such works are all singular, private wealth and commodity. We of the clergy had too much, but that is taken away, and now we have too little. But for mine own part I have no cause to complain, for I thank God and the king I have sufficient, and God is my judge, I came not to crave of any man anything ; but I know them that have too little. There lieth a great matter by these appropriations, great reformation is to be had in them. I know where is a great market-town with divers hamlets and inhabitants, where do rise yearly of their labours to the value of fifty pound, and the vicar that serveth



HUGH LATIMER.

From the painting in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

(being so great a cure) hath but twelve or fourteen marks by year, so that of this pension he is not able

to buy him books, nor give his neighbour drink; all the great gain goeth another way. My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness, when he went unto Blackheath field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pound or twenty nobles apiece, so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God.

He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours. And some alms he gave to the poor, and all this did he of the said farm, where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pound by year or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor. Thus all the enhancing and rearing goeth to your private commodity and wealth; so that where ye had a single too much, you have that; and since the same, ye have enhanced the rent, and so have increased another too much; so now ye have double too much, which is two too much. But let the preacher preach till his tongue be worn to the stumps, nothing is amended. We have good statutes made for the common wealth as touching commoners, enclosers; many meetings and sessions, but in the end of the matter there cometh nothing forth. Well, well, this

is one thing I will say unto you, from whence it cometh I know, even from the devil. . . .

4. KET'S REBELLION.

1549. Holinshed, 'Chronicle,' p. iii. 963 (1578.)

Moreover in divers other parts of the realm, namely in the south and east parts, did the people assemble themselves in rebellious manner, committing many foul disorders; but yet by good policy and wholesome persuasions they were appeased, except in Norfolk, where after there was a rumour spread that the commons in Kent had thrown down the ditches and hedges, wherewith certain pasture lands were enclosed, and had laid the same open, divers seditious persons and busy fellows began to complain that the like had not been done in Norfolk, and ceased not to practise how to raise the people to an open rebellion; meaning not only to lay open parks and enclosures but to attempt other reformatiōns, as they termed them, to the great danger of overthrowing the whole state of the commonwealth.

And one John Flowerdew, gentleman, finding himself grieved with the casting down of some ditches, came unto some of the rebels and gave to them forty pence to cast down the fences of an enclosure belonging to Robert Ket, alias Knight, a tanner of Wymondham; which they did. And that night consulting together, the next morning they took their journey to Netherset, by the procurement of the said Robert Ket, in revenge of the displeasure he had conceived against the said Flowerdew, and set them in

hand to pluck up and cast down hedges and ditches, wherewith certain pasture lands belonging to the said Flowerdew were enclosed.

Here was somewhat ado. For Master Flowerdew did what he could to have caused them to desist from that attempt, insomuch that many sharp words passed betwixt Ket and the said Master Flowerdew. But Ket being a man hardy and forward to any desperate attempt that should be taken in hand, was straight entered into such estimation with the commons thus assembled together in rebellious rise that his will was accomplished. Hereupon was Ket chosen to be their captain and ringleader; who being resolved to set all on six and seven, willed them to be of good comfort and to follow him in defence of their common liberty, being ready in the commonwealth's cause to hazard both life and goods.

Then there came flocking from Suffolk and other parts, a great multitude of lewd disposed persons, raised by firing of beacons, and ringing of bells. Also a number of rascals and naughty lewd persons stole out of the city of Norwich and went to camp. And thus being got together in great multitude, they added one wickedness to another, as having no stay of themselves after their downfall. Now to cloak their malicious purposes with a counterfeit show of holiness, they caused one Coniers, vicar of S. Martin's in Norwich, to say service morning and evening, to pray to God for prosperous speed in that their ungodly enterprise.

Ket, bent to all ungraciousness, would divers times grant forth commissions, abusing now and then the names of honest men thereby, appointing his un-

thrifty mates to fetch in victuals to furnish their camp withal. The tenor of one of these commissions here ensueth: 'We, the king's friends and deputies, do grant licence to all men, to provide and bring into the camp at Mousehold, all manner of cattle and provision of victuals, in what place soever they may find the same,—so that no violence or injury be done to any honest or poor man,—commanding all persons, as they tender the king's honour and royal majesty, and the relief of the commonwealth, to be obedient to us the governors, and to those whose names ensue. Signed: ROBERT KET.'

5. THE LADY JANE GREY.

Roger Ascham's 'Scholemaster' in Arber's Reprints, 46. (1563-68) (*Spelling modernized*.)

And one example, whether love or fear doth work more in a child, for virtue and learning, I will gladly report: which may be heard with some pleasure and followed with more profit. Before I went into Germany, I came to Brodegate in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble Lady Jane Grey, to whom I was exceeding much beholding. Her parents, the duke and duchess, with all the household, gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the park: I found her in her chamber reading 'Phædon Platonis' in Greek, and that with as much delight, as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in Bocace. After salutation, and duty done, with some other talk, I asked her, why she would lose such pastime in the Park? Smiling she answered me: 'I wis, all their sport in the park is but a

shadow to that pleasure, that I find in Plato; alas! good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant.' 'And how came you, Madam,' quoth I, 'to this deep knowledge of pleasure, and what did chiefly allure you unto it: seeing not many women, but very few men have attained thereunto?' 'I will tell you, quoth she;' and tell you a truth, which perchance ye will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits, that ever God gave me, is, that He sent me so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster. For when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry, or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing any thing else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure and number, even so perfectly, as God made the world, or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea presently sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs and other ways, which I will not name, for the honour I bear them, so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell, till time come, that I must go to Mr. Elmer, who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing, whiles I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping, because, whatsoever I do else but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me. And thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto me.' I remember this talk gladly, both because it is so worthy of memory, and because also, it was the last talk that ever I had, and the last time that ever I saw that noble and worthy lady.



PROTECTOR SOMERSET.

From a portrait by Hans Holbein the younger.

6. ENGLISH INDUSTRIES.

1554.

Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian ambassador,
Calendar of State Papers, Venetian,
No. 934 [Rolls].

The country is almost all level, with few rivers and springs, and such hills as they have are not very high, and one advantage of the climate is that the grass remains green at all seasons, affording excellent pasturage for animals, supplying that wool which is in such universal repute under the name of 'Frankish,' the French having been the first to bring it into Italy. Great part of this wool is manufactured in England, where cloths and kerseys of various sorts are wrought, which amount annually to 150,000 pieces of cloths of all sorts, and 150,000 pieces of kersey, the rest of the wool being exported, and taken usually to Calais on account of the staplers, who then sell it on the spot, and have the monopoly of the wool exports from England, though occasionally export-permits are conceded by favour to other persons, though the staplers do their utmost to prevent it. The quantity of unwrought wool exported is said to amount to about 2,000 tons annually; they also export hides to the value of 500,000 ducats.

In Cornwall they have lead and tin mines, from which they extract metal in great quantity, and of such good quality that the like is not to be found elsewhere. For some time they have not exported much lead because permits are refused, but they export annually from five to six thousand weight of unwrought tin, and to the value of 100,000 ducats in the wrought metal, the greater part to Spain.

In Derbyshire there are some iron mines, but in small quantity, but none of gold nor of silver.

In the north towards Scotland they find a certain sort of earth well nigh mineral, and which burns like charcoal, and is extensively used, especially by blacksmiths, and but for a certain bad odour which it leaves it would be yet more employed, as it gives great heat and costs little.

7. QUEEN MARY.

1554.

Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian ambassador,
Calendar of State Papers, Venetian,
No. 934 [Rolls].

Her majesty's countenance indicates great benignity and clemency, which are not belied by her conduct, for although she has had many enemies, and though so many of them were by law condemned to death, yet had the executions depended solely on her majesty's will, not one of them perhaps would have been enforced; but deferring to her Council in everything, she in this matter likewise complied with the wishes of others rather than with her own. She is endowed with excellent ability, and more than moderately read in Latin literature, especially with regard to Holy Writ; and besides her native tongue she speaks Latin, French, and Spanish, and understands Italian perfectly, but does not speak it. . . .

She is so confirmed in the Catholic religion that although the king her brother and his council prohibited her from having the mass celebrated according to the Roman Catholic ritual, she nevertheless had it performed in secret, nor did she ever choose

by any act to assent to any other form of religion, her belief in that in which she was born being so strong that had the opportunity offered she would have displayed it at the stake, her hopes being placed in God alone, so that she constantly exclaims: '*In te Domine confido, non confundar in æternum: si Deus est pro nobis, quis contra nos?*' Her majesty takes pleasure in playing on the lute and spinet, and is a very good performer on both instruments; and indeed before her accession she taught many of her maids of honour. But she seems to delight above all in arraying herself elegantly and magnificently.

8. THE ATTEMPT TO RESTORE CHURCH LANDS.

1554.

Somers' 'Tracts,' i. 56.

A Speech of Queen Mary's to her Council upon her Resolution of restoring Church Lands.

We have willed you to be called to us, to the intent you might hear of me my conscience and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions, as well of monasteries as other churches whatsoever, being now in my possession.

First, I do consider, that the said lands were taken away from the churches aforesaid in time of schism, and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the law of God and of the church: for which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to detain them. And therefore I here expressly refuse, either to claim or retain those lands for mine: but with all my heart, freely and willingly, without all faction or condition, here and before God, I do surrender and

relinquish the said lands and possessions, or inheritances whatever; and renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seem best liking to the pope, or his legate, to the honour of God, and the wealth of this our realm. And albeit you may object to me again, that the state of my kingdom, the dignity thereof and my crown imperial, cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid: yet notwithstanding—and so she had affirmed before, when she was bent upon the restitution of the tenths and first-fruits—I set more by the salvation of my soul, than by ten such kingdoms: and therefore the said possessions I utterly refuse here to hold, after that sort and title: and I give most hearty thanks to God, who hath given me a husband of the same mind, who hath no less good affection in this behalf, than I myself. Wherefore I charge and command that my chancellor, with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter, and you four, to resort to-morrow together to the legate, signifying to him the premises in my name. And give your attendance upon me, for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdom, and of the aforesaid possessions, according as you yourselves do understand the matter, and can inform him in the same.

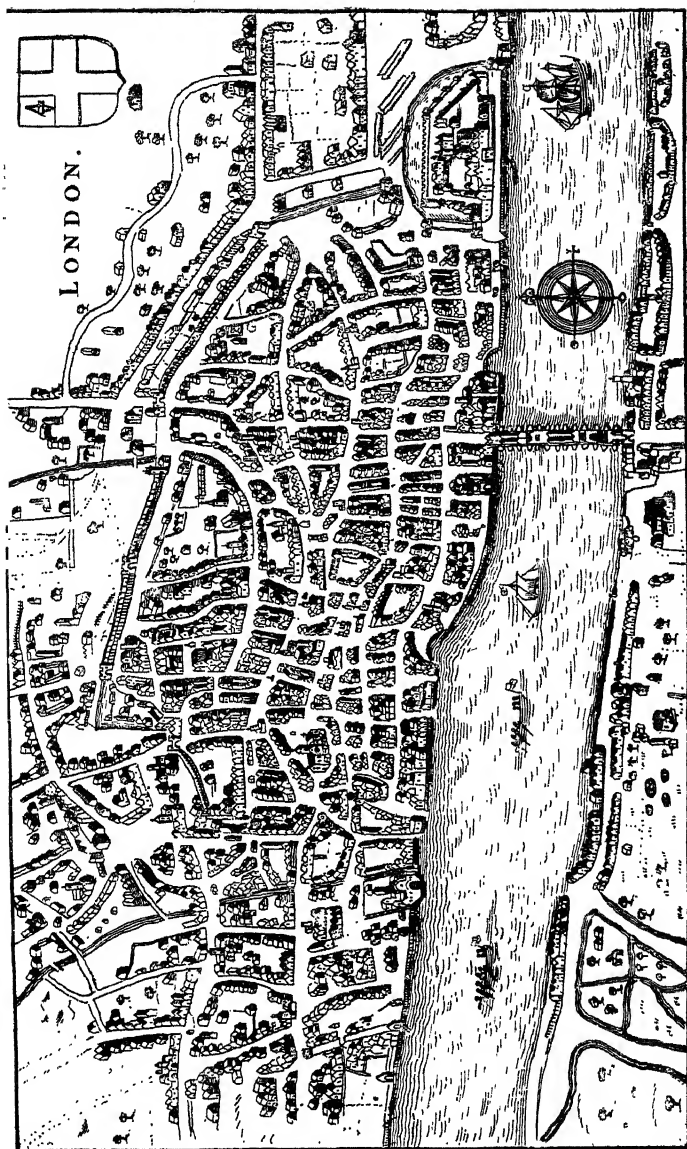
9. THE MARIAN PERSECUTIONS.

1553-58.

Foxe, 'Book of Martyrs,' ed. Dr. Clarke, p. 421. *Contemporary*.1. *Bishop Hooper.*

Other men commonly are wont for lucre or promotion's sake, to aspire to bishoprics ; some hunting for them and some purchasing or buying them, as men used to purchase lordships ; and when they have them are loth to leave them. From this sort of men Hooper was very different. He abhorred nothing more than gain, labouring always to save and preserve the souls of his flock. Being bishop of two dioceses, he so ruled and guided either of them and both together, as though he had in charge but one family. . . . As for the revenues of his bishoprics, he pursed nothing but bestowed it in hospitality. I was twice, as I remember, in his house at Worcester, where in his common hall, I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and beset full of beggars and poor folk ; and I asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their lord and master's manner was to have to dinner a certain number of poor folk of the city in turns, who were served by four at a mess, with wholesome meats ; and when they were served—being previously examined by him or his deputies in the Lord's prayer, the articles of their faith and ten commandments—then he himself sat down to dinner and not before. . . .

. . . King Edward being dead and Mary being crowned queen of England, religion being subverted



PLAN OF THE CITY OF LONDON IN THE TIME OF ELIZABETH.

and changed, this good bishop was one of the first that was sent for to come to London.

Hooper wrote the following report of his treatment in the Fleet, with his own hand, the 7th of January, 1554:

‘On the 1st of September, 1553, I was committed to the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison; and within six days after I paid for my liberty five pounds sterling to the warden of fees; who immediately upon the payment, complained to Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and so I was committed to close prison one quarter of a year in the tower chamber of the Fleet and used very extremely. Then by the means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, though not suffered to speak with any of my friends; but as soon as dinner or supper was done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, whilst I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the bishop of Winchester.

‘About one quarter of a year and somewhat more, Babington the warden and his wife, fell out with me for the wicked mass, and thereupon the warden resorted to the bishop of Winchester and obtained leave to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking; until, by God’s means, good people sent me bedding to lie in. On the one side of which prison is the sink and filth of

the house and on the other side the town ditch, so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases.

‘During all the time I have been sick; and the doors, bars, hasps and chains being all closed and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called and cried for help. But the warden, when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast and charged that none of his men should come to me, saying: “Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him.” . . .

‘I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months; my goods, living, friends and comfort taken from me; the queen owing me by just account eighty pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to support me, neither is there suffered any one to come to me whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy (saving God’s help) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be my life or death.’

On the 19th of March, 1554, he was called before the bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Llandaff, Chichester and other the queen’s commissioners, when not being permitted to plead his cause, he was deprived of his bishoprics. . . .

On Monday morning, February 4th, [1555], the bishop of London came to Newgate, and there degraded Hooper, and he was ordered to be taken to Gloucester, to be there burned; to which place he accordingly was removed under a guard. . . .

He was three quarters of an hour or more in the fire. Even as a lamb he patiently bore the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards or to any side ; but having his lower parts burned . . . he died as quietly as a child in his bed ; and he now reigneth as a blessed martyr, in the joys of heaven prepared for the faithful in Christ before the foundation of the world ; for whose constance all Christians are bound to praise God.

2. *Doctor Rowland Taylor.*

. . . Doctor Rowland Taylor, doctor in both the civil and canon law, and a right perfect divine, was parson of this town of Hadleigh ; and at his first entering into his benefice, did not, as the common sort of beneficed men do, let out his benefice to a farmer, to gather up the profits, and put in an ignorant unlearned priest to serve the cure, and so that they have the fleece, caring little or nothing for the flock ; but he made his abode and dwelling in Hadleigh among the people committed to his charge. . . .

In the beginning of this reign of antichrist, a certain gentleman, a lawyer, called Foster, being a steward and keeper of courts, a man of no great skill, but a bitter persecutor, with one John Clerk, conspired to bring in the pope and his mummery again into Hadleigh Church. For as yet doctor Taylor, as a good shepherd, had retained and kept in his church the godly church service and reformation made by King Edward, and most faithfully and earnestly preached against the popish corruptions,

which had infested the whole country round about. . . .

Then Foster with his armed men took Taylor and led him by force out of the church, and then the popish priest proceeded in his Romish idolatry. Taylor's wife, who followed her husband into the church, when she saw her husband thus violently thrust out of his church, kneeled down and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said: 'I beseech God, the righteous judge, to avenge this injury that this popish idolater doth to the blood of Christ.' Then they thrust her out of the church also, and shut the doors, for they feared that the people would have torn their sacrificer in pieces. Notwithstanding, one or two threw in great stones at the windows. . . .

While in prison, doctor Taylor spent all his time in prayer, reading the holy Scriptures, and writing, preaching and exhorting the prisoners, and such as resorted to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

Within a few days after, many other learned and godly men, in sundry counties of England, were committed to prison for religion's sake, so that almost all the prisons in England were become schools and churches. . . .

After a year and three quarters, in which time the papists got certain old tyrannical laws, which were repealed by King Henry VIII. and King Edward, to be again revised by parliament, so that now they might, *ex officio*, cite whom they would upon their own suspicion, and charge them with what articles they chose, and burn them: when these laws were once re-established, they sent for Taylor, with other

prisoners, who were again brought before the chancellor and other commissioners about the 22nd of January. . . .

The fagots were brought, and the fire kindled; and one man cruelly cast a fagot at him, which lighted upon his head, and brake his face, so that the blood ran down his visage. Then said Taylor: 'O friend, I have harm enough, what needeth that?'

Sir John Shelton standing by, as doctor Taylor was speaking or saying the fifty-first psalm, '*Have mercy upon us,*' struck him on the lips: 'Ye knave, said he, speak in Latin or I will make thee.' Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God and said: 'Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands.' So he stood still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce, with a halberd, struck him on the head so that the brains fell out, and the dead corpse fell down into the fire.

3. *Others Condemned.*

After Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had got the law and the secular arm on his side, with full power and authority, and had brought these godly bishops and reverend preachers under foot, namely, Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley bishop of London, Latimer, Hooper bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, Sanders, Taylor and Bradford, all of whom he had condemned, and some of them he had burned—he supposed now that all had been sure, and that Christ had been conquered for ever, so that the people being terrified by the example of these learned men, never would, nor durst again stir against their violent

religion. . . . But they were deceived ; for within eight or nine days after Gardiner had given sentence against Hooper, Rogers, Sanders, Taylor and Bradford, being the 8th of February, six other good men were brought likewise before the bishops for the same cause of religion, whose names were William Pigot, Stephen Knight, Thomas Tomkins, Thomas Hawkes, John Lawrence a priest, and William Hunter.

Gardiner thus seeing his device disappointed, and that cruelty in this case would not serve to his expectation, gave over the matter as utterly discouraged, and from that day meddled no more in such kind of condemnations, but referred the whole to Bonner, bishop of London. Bishop Bonner, taking the matter in hand, called before him in his consistory at St. Paul's, with the lord mayor and certain aldermen, the six persons aforenamed, upon the 8th day of February, and on the next day, being the 9th of February, read the sentence of condemnation upon them, as appears in Bonner's own registers ; such quick speed did these men make in despatching their business at once.

Notwithstanding, the death of these condemned martyrs did not follow immediately ; but what was the cause that their execution was deferred after their condemnation I cannot precisely say, unless, peradventure, the sermon of Alphonsus the Spanish Friar and the king's confessor, did some good. For so I find, that when these six persons aforesaid were cast upon Saturday the 9th of February, upon Sunday following, which was the 10th of February, the said Alphonsus, a Grey friar, preached before the king ; in which sermon he did earnestly inveigh

against the bishops for burning of men, saying plainly that they learned it not in Scripture, to burn any for conscience sake, but the contrary, that they should live and be converted ; with many other things more to the same purport.

10. SIR THOMAS WYATT'S REBELLION.

1554. John Stow, 'Chronicles,' p. 619 ; ed. 1615.
(1565).

In the mean season, to wit the third day of February, about three of the clock in the afternoon, sir Thomas Wyatt and the Kentishmen marched forward from Deptford towards London with five ensigns, being by estimation about two thousand ; and so soon as their coming was perceived, there were shot off out of the White Tower, six or eight shots, but missed them—sometimes shooting over and sometimes short. After knowledge thereof was once had in London, forthwith the drawbridge was cut down, and the bridge gates shut. The mayor and sheriffs, harnessed, commanded each man to shut up their shops and windows and to be ready harnessed at their doors, what chance soever might happen. By this time was Wyatt entered into Kent Street and so by St. George's Church into Southwark.

On Shrove Tuesday, the sixth of February, sir Thomas Wyatt removed out of Southwark toward Kingston, where the bridge was broken and kept on the other side by two hundred men ; wherefore Wyatt caused two pieces of ordnance to be laid on the end of the bridge, which so frightened them on

the other side that they durst not abide; then caused he three or four of his soldiers to leap into the Thames and to swim to the other side; and they



CHEAPSIDE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

loosed the western barges which lay there tied, and so brought them over; and by that means he passed the water and came that night almost to

Brainford, or ever they were descried by the queen's scouts.

Wyatt hearing the earl of Pembroke was come into the fields, stayed at Knightsbridge until day, his men being very weary with marching that night and the day before, and also partly feebled and faint, having received small sustenance since their coming out of Southwark restless. There was no small ado in London, and likewise the Tower made great preparation of defence. By ten of the clock the earl of Pembroke had set his troop of horsemen on the hill in the highway above the new bridge over against St. James'; his footmen were set in two battles, somewhat lower and nearer Charing Cross, at the lane turning down by the brick wall from Islingtonward, where he had set also certain other horsemen and he had planted his ordnance upon the hillside. . . . The queen's whole battle of footmen standing still, Wyatt passed along by the wall toward Charing Cross, where the said horsemen that were there, set upon part of them, but were soon forced back. Wyatt with his men marched still forward all along to Temple Bar, and so through Fleet Street, till he came to the Belle Sauvage, an inn nigh unto Ludgate, without resistance, his men going not in any good order or array, most with their swords drawn. Some cried: 'Queen Mary hath granted our request, and given us pardon!' Others said: 'The queen hath pardoned us!'

Thus some of Wyatt's men—some say it was Wyatt himself—came even to Ludgate and knocked, calling to come in, saying, there was Wyatt, whom the queen had granted to have their requests; but

the lord William Howard stood at the gate and said : 'Avaunt, traitor ! thou shalt not come in here.' Wyatt a while stayed and rested him upon a stall over against the Belle Sauvage gate, and at the last seeing he could not get into the city, and being deceived by the aid he hoped for, returned back again, till he came to Temple Bar, where a herald came and said to Master Wyatt : 'Sir, you were best by my counsel to yield ; you see this day is gone against you.' Wyatt, herewith being somewhat astonied, said : 'Well, if I shall needs yield, I will yield me to a gentleman.' And to him sir Maurice Berkeley came straight and bad him leap up behind him ; and another took Thomas Cobham and William Kennet, and so carried them behind them upon their horses to the court.

11. THE BURNING OF CRANMER.

1556.

Foxe, 'Book of Martyrs,' ed. Clarke,
p. 726. *Contemporary*.

While the archbishop was in prison, where he had been now for almost the space of three years, the doctors and divines of Oxford busied themselves about him to induce him to recant, trying by all crafty practices and allurements, how they might bring their purpose to pass. And to the intent they might win him easily, they invited him to the dean's house of Christ Church, in the university, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the bowls, had his pleasure for walking and all other things that might bring him from Christ. . . . They put him in hope,

that he should not only have his life, but also be restored to his ancient dignity, saying it was but a small matter and so easy, that they required him to do, only that he would subscribe to a few words with his own hand; which, if he did, there should be nothing in the realm that the queen would not easily grant him, whether he would have either riches or dignity, or else if he would rather like a private life in retirement, in whatsoever place he desired, without any public ministry, only that he would set his name in two words to a little leaf of paper; but if he refused, there was no hope of pardon; for the queen was so purposed, that she would have Cranmer a Catholic, or else no Cranmer at all. Therefore he should choose whether he thought it better to end his life shortly in the flames now ready to be kindled, than with much honour to prolong his life, until the course of nature did call him, for there was no middle way. . . .

But at last when they made no end of calling and enticing him, the archbishop being overcome, whether through their importunity or by his own imbecility, or of what mind I cannot tell, at length put his hand to his recantation. . . .

This recantation of the archbishop was no sooner written, than the doctors and prelates without delay caused it to be printed, and sent abroad in all men's hands. The queen having now got a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly: but of her purpose to put him to death she would not relent. . . .

[On the day appointed for Cranmer's death a sermon was preached by Dr. Cole, leading up to a public recantation of his

errors by the archbishop ; the latter then addressed the people, and concluded in the following words.]

. . . ‘ And now I come to the great thing which so much troubleth my conscience, more than anything that ever I did or said in my whole life, and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth, which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life if it might be, and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished for it ; for when I come to the fire it shall be first burned. ’

‘ As for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ’s enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

‘ And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester, which book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine shall be ashamed to show her face.’ . . .

And when he began to speak more of the sacrament and of the papacy, some of them began to cry out, and especially Cole cried out upon him : ‘ Stop the heretic’s mouth and take him away.’ . . .

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his arm, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held so steadfast and immoveable that all men might see his hand burned before his body was touched. His

body did so abide the burning of the flame, with such constancy and steadfastness, that standing always in one place, without moving his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound; his eyes were lifted up to heaven, and oftentimes he repeated, 'This unworthy right hand!' so long as his voice would suffer him; and using often the words of Stephen, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,' in the greatness of the flame, he gave up the ghost.

12. THE LOSS OF CALAIS.

1558.

Grafton, 'Chronicle,' ii. 557 (edit. 1809).
Died about 1572.

At this time, although open hostility and war were between England and France, yet, contrary to the ancient custom afore used, the town of Calais and the forts thereabouts were not supplied with any new accrues of soldiers; and this negligence was not unknown to the enemy, who, long before, had plotted the winning of the said town and country. The French king therefore—being sharply nettled with the late loss of St. Quentin and a great piece of his country adjoining, and desirous of revenge—thought it not meet to let slip this occasion; and having presently a full army in readiness to employ where most advantage should appear, determined to put in proof, with all speed, the enterprise of Calais; which long, and many times before, was purposed upon.

This design was not so secret but that the deputies of Calais and Guisnes had some intelligence thereof, and informed the queen and her council accordingly;

nevertheless either by wilful negligence there, or lack of credit by the queen's council here, this great case was so slenderly regarded that no provision of defence was made until it was somewhat too late.

The duke of Guise, being general of the French army, proceeded in this enterprise with marvellous policy. For approaching the English frontier, under cover to victual Boulogne and Ardres, he entered upon the same on a sudden, and took a little bulwark called Sandgate by assault. The next day the Frenchmen, with five double cannons and three culverins, began a battery from the sandhills next Risbank, against the town of Calais; and continued the same by the space of two or three days, until they made a little breach in the wall next unto the Water Gate, which nevertheless was not yet assaultable; for that which was broken in the day, was by them within the town made up again in the night, stronger than before. But the battery was not begun there by the French because they intended to enter in that place; but rather to abuse the English, to have the less regard to the defence of the castle, which was the weakest part of the town, and the place where they were ascertained, by their espials, to win an easy entry. . . .

The same night, after the recule of the Frenchmen, whose number so increased in the castle, that the town was not able to resist their force, the lord Wentworth, deputy of Calais, sent a pursuivant called Guisnes, unto the duke of Guise, requiring a composition; which, after long debate, was agreed to, upon this sort: that the town with all the great artillery, victuals and munition, should be freely

yielded to the French king; that the lives of the inhabitants only should be saved, to whom safe conduct should be granted, to pass where they listed; and that the lord deputy, with fifty others, such as the duke should appoint, should remain prisoners, and be put to their ransom.

The next morning the Frenchmen entered and possessed the town. Thus have ye heard the discourse of the overthrow and loss of the town of Calais, an enterprise which was begun and ended in less than eight days, to the great marvel of the world, that a town of such strength, and so well furnished with all things as that was, should so suddenly be taken and conquered,—but most especially in the winter season, when all the country about, being marsh ground, is commonly overflown with water.

13. THE ACT OF SUPREMACY.

1559. ‘Statutes of the Realm,’ iv., pt. i., 351.

An Act restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the State ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same.

[The first six clauses are largely taken up with repealing and reviving recent legislation.]

VII. And to the intent that all usurped and foreign power and authority, spiritual and temporal, may for ever be clearly extinguished, and never to be used nor obeyed within this realm or any other your majesty's dominions or countries; may it please your highness that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate,

Foreign jurisdictions abolished.

spiritual or temporal, shall at any time after the last day of this session of Parliament, use, enjoy or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, authority, pre-eminence or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within this realm, or within any other your majesty's dominions or countries that now be or hereafter shall be, but from henceforth the same shall be clearly abolished out of this realm and all other your highness' dominions for ever; any statute, ordinance, custom, constitutions or any other matter or cause whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

VIII. And that also it may likewise please your highness that it may be established and enacted by the authority aforesaid, That such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been or may lawfully be exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order and correction of the same and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, shall for ever, by authority of this present Parliament, be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. . . .

*The supreme
ecclesiastical
power vested in
the Crown*

IX., X., XI., and XII. [All ecclesiastics, laymen doing homage, and University graduates to take an oath in the sense of the two preceding clauses; dismissal of ecclesiastics for refusal.]

XIV. [Open detractors of the new order to be liable to be attainted for high treason.]

[The Act contains in all twenty-four clauses; many are concerned with such matters as the limitations of date for liability, the judgment of peers, etc.]

14. ELIZABETH AND CHURCH AFFAIRS.

1559. 'Calendar of State Papers' (Venetian), vii. 73.

*From Il Schifanoja to Ottaviano Vivaldino, Mantuan
Ambassador with King Philip.*

Last week I wrote fully to your lordship from Dover . . . touching my private affairs, and on my return to London I find that Parliament has come to no further conclusion about the title '*Supremum Caput in Terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*,' because her majesty does not wish it; but they have settled for her to be Governess-General of spiritual and temporal matters in this kingdom, and they have already deprived all the bishops of their temporal revenues and estates, adding thereto the benefices unappropriated by the Crown, which according to my belief they will never obtain, and they will thus remain very poor.

With regard to officiating and changing the service of the Church nothing more has been done, but it is supposed that everything will return as in the time of King Edward to the English tongue; and already in the lower house they have carried the bill to expel all friars and monks, nuns and hospitallers, destroying everything, and assigning the revenues to the queen, who will gain but little in the end; for they all make demands of her, some for a piece of land, some for a garden, some for a house, and some for the fee simple of estates for their residence; nor can she refuse, not having anything else to give them, from the property of the Crown; so for this reason everything will go to the bad. There is no doubt of

the bill passing, as it favours personal interests, and also because they will not hear mention made of



QUEEN ELIZABETH.

From the Ermine Portrait at Hatfield, in the collection of the Marquis of Salisbury.

friars or nuns, whom they call rabble, and because they are near the end of Parliament, all being weary

of remaining so long here at great cost and inconvenience; and therefore in order to return to their homes, they will pass any evil thing, unless God give them more sense than they have evinced hitherto. . . .

Last Sunday was the festival of St. George, the patron of London and of the Order of the Garter, when the knights of the Order kept the feast as usual with the accustomed ceremonies and vestments, only eleven being present out of the whole number, which is twenty-six, the rest being either dead or invalided. They made the procession through the whole Court in their usual robes, not preceded by the cross, her majesty being present; and this was the first procession that she has accompanied. It is true that she asked where the crosses were, and was told that being of gold and silver they were kept in the Tower. She desired them to be sent for, but as the Tower was too far off, and the time late, they hastily sent to Westminster for some, but found that those had in like manner been removed for safety; so without further scruple the procession was made *sine cruce*. After mass they dined all together in their usual manner, each of them being served with a dish in the Presence Chamber, her majesty being in their presence, but in a separate place, having appointed the earl of Arundel her vicegerent. On the morrow mass for the dead was sung, all the knights attending it, and her majesty was also to have been present, but she changed her mind, objecting perhaps to the mass for the dead. . . .

* * * * *

[From another letter a few weeks later.]

I have nothing else to tell you, save that, with

regard to religion, they live in all respects in the Lutheran fashion, in all the churches of London, except St. Paul's, which still keeps firm in its former state until the day of St. John the Baptist (24th June), when the period prescribed by Parliament expires, the Act being in the press, and soon about to appear; but the Council nevertheless sent twice or thrice to summon the bishop of London [Edmund Bonner], to give him orders to remove the service of the mass and of the Divine office in that church; but he answered them intrepidly: 'I possess three things, soul, body, and property; of the two last you can dispose at your pleasure, but as to the soul God alone can command me.' . . . All the bishops are likewise disposed to await their sentence and decision, and many other prelates after them; which sentence and decision will soon be known. In the interval the false preachers do not fail to preach publicly in all the churches, demanding their revenues.

15. THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY.

1559.

'Statutes of the Realm,' iv., pt. i., 355.

An Act for the uniformity of Common Prayer and Divine Service in the Church, and the Administration of the Sacraments.

Where at the death of our late sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, there remained one uniform order of common Service and Prayer and of the administration of Sacraments, rites and ceremonies in the Church of England, which was set forth in one book intituled

*Restoration
of Ed. VI.'s
Prayer-book.*

the Book of Common Prayer and administration of Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies in the Church of England, authorised by Act of Parliament holden in the fifth and sixth years of our said late sovereign lord, King Edward the Sixth, intituled an Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments; the which was repealed and taken away by Act of Parliament in the first year of the reign of our late sovereign lady Queen Mary, to the great decay of the true honour of God and discomfort to the professors of the truth of Christ's religion: Be it therefore enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, that the said Statute of Repeal and everything therein contained, only concerning the said book and the service, administration of Sacraments, rites and ceremonies contained or appointed in or by the said book shall be void and of none effect from and after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming; and that the said book, with the Order of Service and of the administration of Sacraments, rites and ceremonies, with the alteration and additions therein added and appointed by this Statute, shall stand and be from and after the said Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, in full force and effect, according to the tenor and effect of this Statute; anything in the aforesaid Statute of Repeal to the contrary notwithstanding.

II. [The form of service in this Prayer-book to be obligatory upon all ministers; penalties for obstinacy.]

III. [Penalties for derisive reference to the Book of Common Prayer 'in any interludes, plays, songs, rhymes, or by other open words.']

IV. [Exhortation to bishops, etc., duly to have the law carried out.]

V. And it is ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every Justices of Oyer and *Power given* Determiner or Justices of Assize shall *to the Justices.* have full power and authority in every of their open and general sessions to enquire, hear and determine all and all manner of offences that shall be committed or done contrary to any article contained in this present Act within the limits of the commission to them directed, and to make process for the execution of the same, as they may do against any person being indicted before them of trespass or lawfully convicted thereof.

VI.—XI. [Limitations of date and authority.]

XIII. Provided always and be it enacted, That such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers *Retention of* thereof shall be retained and be in use, *Ornaments.* as was in the Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the queen's majesty, with the advice of her commissioners appointed and authorised under the Great Seal of England for ecclesiastical causes, or of the Metropolitan of this realm: and also that, if there shall happen any contempt or irreverence to be used in the ceremonies or rites of the Church by the misusing of the orders appointed in this book, the queen's majesty may by the like advice of the said commissioners or Metropolitan ordain and publish such further ceremonies or rites as may be most for the advancement of God's glory, the edifying of his Church and the due reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments,

16. ELIZABETH HELPS THE HUGUENOTS.

1562.

Holinshed, 'Chronicles,' iv. 204.
(1578.)

The realm of France being in great trouble about this season, by the means of civil dissensions and wars that rose betwixt the house of Guise and other of that faction upon the one side, and the prince of Condé and other that took part with him on the contrary side, the queen's majesty informed how that the duke of Guise and his partakers, having got into their possession the person of the young king, under pretext of his authority, sought the subversion of many noblemen and good subjects of the crown of France—namely such as were known or suspected to be zealous for a reformation to be had in matters of religion; her majesty thereupon considering that if their purpose might be brought to effect, it was to be doubted that they would not so rest, but seek to set things in broil also within this her realm of England, and other countries near to them adjoining: first, as one that had ever wished quietness rather than the troubles of war, sent over sir Henry Sidney, at that present lord president of Wales,—a man of such estimation as his word ought to have deserved credit—to try if he might do any good to bring the parties to some atonement. But such wilful headiness seemed to rest in some that were chief of the one faction, that their desire seemed altogether bent to enter into wars. Her majesty yet hoping the best, appointed to send another honourable ambassage, which by their wisdoms and good advice

might persuade the parties unto concord, whereby all due authority, honour and dignity might be restored to the king, and every other degree keep their rooms and places as to them appertained; but all in vain. For this motion of a pacification to be had could take no place, neither might the will of the young king or of his timorous mother, as it then seemed, be regarded otherwise than as stood with the pleasure and appointment of those that were known to be the chief authors and furtherers of all those troubles. . . .

She therefore lamenting that the king and queen mother should be thus in the hands of them that procured all these troubles, and led up and down at their pleasures, and driven to behold the spoil and sacking of divers his cities, and miserable slaughter of his subjects; and again her grace thinking it expedient to prevent that such as were known to bear no good will either to her or her realm, should not get into their possessions such towns and havens as lay against the sea coasts of her said realm, whereby they, stuffing the same with garrisons and numbers of men of war, might easily upon occasions seek to make invasions into this her said realm, to the great annoyance of her and her loving subjects: at the request of the French themselves, thought it expedient to put in armour a certain number of her subjects to pass over into Normandy, unto such havens as near approached unto this her realm of England, as well for the safeguard of the same, as also for the relief and preservation of the inhabitants there, and other that professed the gospel, living in continual danger to be murdered and oppressed, and

therefore craving her aid to save and deliver them out of the bloody hands of their cruel adversaries, that sought their hasty destruction.

For the conduction therefore of such forces as she meant to send over at that present she ordained the lord Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick to be her principal lieutenant, captain general, chief leader and governor of her said subjects, that should in such wise pass over into Normandy. . . .

17. THE POOR AND THEIR TREATMENT.

Temp. Elizabeth

William Harrison, 'Description of England' in Holinshed, Bk. ii., ch. x. *Contemporary*.

There is no commonwealth at this day in Europe, wherein there is not great store of poor people, and those necessarily to be relieved by the wealthier sort, or otherwise they would starve and come to utter confusion. With us the poor are commonly divided into three sorts, so that some are poor by impotency, as the fatherless child, the aged, blind and lame, and the diseased person that is judged to be incurable; the second are poor by casualty, as the wounded soldier, the decayed householder, and the sick person visited with grievous and painful diseases; the third consisteth of thriftless poor, as the rioter that hath consumed all, the vagabond that will abide nowhere, but runneth up and down from place to place—as it were, seeking work and finding none—and finally the rogue and the wicked who run to and fro over all the realm, chiefly keeping the champaign land in summer, to avoid the scorching heat, and the wood-

land grounds in winter to eschew the blustering winds.

For the first two sorts, that is to say the poor by impotency and the poor by casualty, which are the true poor indeed, and for whom the Word doth bind us to make some daily provision, there is order taken throughout every parish in the realm, that weekly collection shall be made for their help and sustentation, to the end they should not scatter abroad, and by begging here and there annoy both town and country. . . . But if they refuse to be supported by this benefit of the law, and will rather endeavour by going to and fro to maintain their idle trades, then are they adjudged to be parcel of the third sort, and so instead of courteous refreshing at home, are often corrected with sharp execution and whip of justice, abroad. Many there are, which notwithstanding the rigour of the laws provided in that behalf, yield rather with this liberty, as they call it, to be daily under the fear and terror of the whip, than by abiding where they were born or bred, to be provided for by the devotion of the parishes. . . .

Idle beggars are such either through other men's occasion or through their own default—by other men's occasion (as one way for example) when some covetous man (such, I mean, as have the cast or right vein daily to make beggars enough whereby to pester the land, espying a further commodity in their commons, holds, and tenures) doth find such means as thereby to wipe many out of their occupyings and turn the same unto his private gains. Hereupon it followeth that, although the wise and better-minded do either forsake the realm for altogether, and seek

to live in other countries, as France, Germany, Barbary, India, Muscovia, and very Calcutta, complaining of no room to be left for them at home, do so behave themselves that they are worthily to be accounted among the second sort, yet the greater part, commonly having nothing to stay upon, are wilful, and thereupon do either prove idle beggars or else continue stark thieves till the gallows do eat them up, which is a lamentable case. . . .

Such as are idle beggars through their own default are of two sorts, and continue their estates either by casual or mere voluntary means: those that are such by casual means are in the beginning justly to be referred either to the first or second sort of poor aforementioned, but degenerating into the thriftless sort, they do what they can to continue their misery, and, with such impediments as they have, to stray and wander about, as creatures abhorring all labour and every honest exercise. Certes I call these casual means, not in the respect of the original of all poverty, but of the continuance of the same, from whence they will not be delivered, such is their own ungracious lewdness and froward disposition. The voluntary means proceed from outward causes, as by making of corrosives, and applying the same to the more fleshy parts of their bodies, and also laying of ratsbane, spearwort, crowfoot, and such like into their whole members, thereby to raise pitiful and odious sores, and move the hearts of the goers-by such places where they lie, to yearn at their misery, and thereupon bestow large alms upon them. How artificially they beg, what forcible speech, and how they select and choose out words of vehemence,

whereby they do in manner conjure or adjure the goer-by to pity their cases, I pass over to remember, as judging the name of God and Christ to be more conversant in the mouths of none and yet the presence of the Heavenly Majesty further off from no men than from this ungracious company. Which maketh me to think that punishment is far meeter for them than liberality or alms, and sith Christ willeth us chiefly to have a regard to Himself and his poor members.

Unto this nest is another sort to be referred, more sturdy than the rest, which, having sound and perfect limbs, do yet notwithstanding sometime counterfeit the possession of all sorts of diseases. Divers times in their apparel also they will be like serving men or labourers: oftentimes they can play the mariners, and seek for ships which they never lost. But in fine they are all thieves and caterpillars in the commonwealth, and by the Word of God not permitted to eat, sith they do but lick the sweat from the true labourers' brows, and bereave the godly poor of that which is due unto them, to maintain their excess, consuming the charity of well-disposed people bestowed upon them, after a most wicked and detestable manner.

It is not yet full threescore years since this trade began: but how it hath prospered since that time it is easy to judge, for they are now supposed, of one sex and another, to amount unto above 10,000 persons, as I have heard reported. Moreover, in counterfeiting the Egyptian rogues, they have devised a language among themselves, which they name *Cunting*, but others, *pedlar's French*, a speech

compact thirty years since, of English and a great number of odd words of their own devising, without all order or reason, and yet such is it as none but themselves are able to understand. . . .

18. ENGLISH DOMESTIC LIFE.

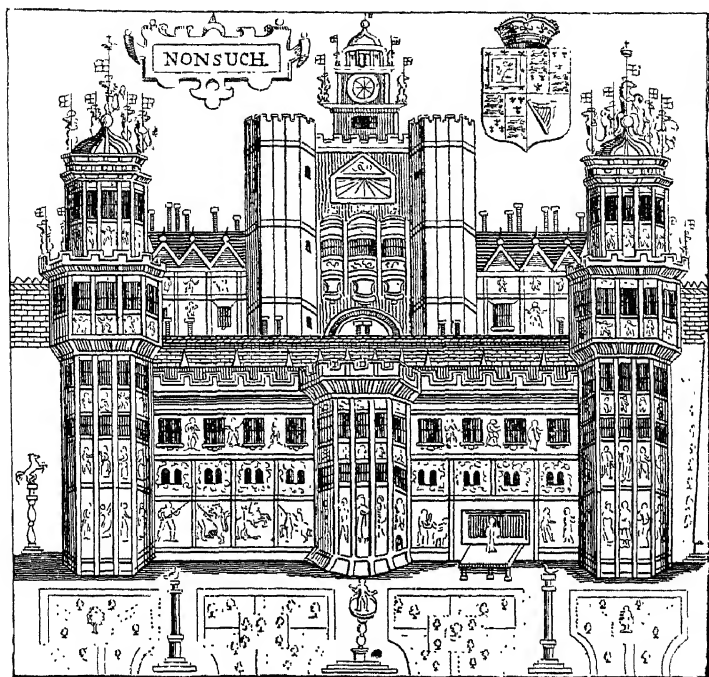
Temp. Elizabeth.

William Harrison, 'Description
of England' in Holinshed,
Bk. ii., ch. xii. *Contemporary*.

The greatest part of our building in the cities and good towns of England consisteth only of timber, for as yet few of the houses of the commonalty (except here and there in the west-country towns) are made of stone, although they may (in my opinion) in divers other places be builded so good cheap of the one as of the other. . . .

The walls of our houses on the inner sides in like sort be either hanged with tapestry, arras work or painted cloths, wherein either divers histories or herbs, beasts, knots and such like are stained, or else they are sealed with oak of our own, or wainscot brought hither out of the east countries, whereby the rooms are not a little commended, made warm, and much more close than otherwise they would be. As for stoves we have not hitherto used them greatly, yet do they now begin to be made in divers houses of the gentry and wealthy citizens, who build them not to work and feed in as in Germany and elsewhere, but now and then to sweat in, as occasion and need shall require. This also hath been common in England, contrary to the customs of all other nations,

and yet to be seen (for example in most streets of London) that many of our greatest houses have outwardly been very simple and plain to sight, which



NONSUCH HOUSE.

From an old print.

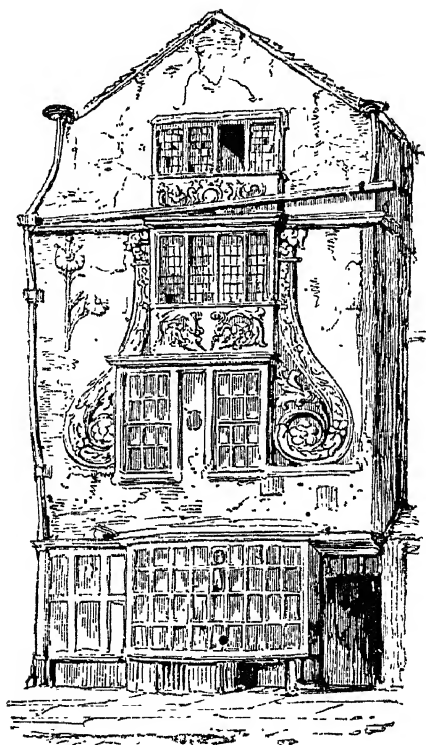
inwardly have been able to receive a duke with his whole train, and lodge them at their ease. . . .

The ancient manors and houses of our gentlemen are yet and for the most part of strong timber, in framing whereof our carpenters have been and are worthily preferred before those of like science among

all other nations. Howbeit such as be lately builded, are commonly either of brick or hard stone, or both ; their rooms large and comely, and houses of office further distant from their lodgings. Those of the nobility are likewise wrought with brick and hard stone, as provision may be best made : but so magnificent and stately, as the barest house of a baron doth often match in our days with some honours of princes in old time. . . .

The furniture of our houses also exceedeth, and is grown in manner even to passing delicacy ; and herein I do not speak of the nobility and gentry only, but likewise of the lowest sort in most places of our south country, that have anything at all to take to. Certes in noblemen's houses it is not rare to see abundance of arras, rich hangings of tapestry, silver vessels, and so much other plate as may furnish sundry cupboards, to the sum oftentimes of a thousand or two thousand pounds at the least : whereby the value of this and the rest of their stuff doth grow to be almost inestimable. Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, and some other wealthy citizens, it is not rare to behold generally their great provision of tapestry, Turkey work, pewter, brass, fine linen, and thereto costly cupboards of plate, worth five or six hundred or a thousand pounds, to be deemed by estimation. But as herein all these sorts do far exceed their elders and predecessors, and in neatness and curiosity, the merchant all other ; so in time past, the costly furniture stayed there, whereas now it is descended yet lower, even unto the inferior artificers, and many farmers, who by virtue of their old and not of their new leases

have for the most part learned also to garnish their cupboards with plate, their joined beds with tapestry and silk hangings, and their tables with carpets and fine napery, whereby the wealth of our country (God



STREET ARCHITECTURE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

be praised therefore, and give us grace to employ it well) doth infinitely appear. . . .

There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remain, which have noted three things to be mar-

vellously altered in England within their sound remembrance; and other three things too too much increased.

One is the multitude of chimneys lately erected, whereas in their young days there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish towns of the realm—the religious houses and manor places of their lords always excepted, and peradventure some great personage—but each one made his fire against a reredos in the hall where he dined and dressed his meat.

The second is the great—although not general—amendment of lodging, for—said they—our fathers, yea and we ourselves also, have lien full oft upon straw pallets on rough mats covered only with a sheet under coverlets made of dogswain* or hopharlots*—I use their own terms—and a good round log under their heads instead of a bolster or pillow. If it were so that our fathers or the good man of the house, had within seven years after his marriage purchased a mattress or flock-bed and thereto a sack of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself to be as well lodged as the lord of the town that peradventure lay seldom in a bed of down or whole feathers; so well were they contented, and with such base kind of furniture; which also is not very much amended as yet in some parts of Bedfordshire, and elsewhere further off from our southern parts.

The third thing they tell of, is the exchange of plate, as of wooden platters into pewter, and wooden spoons into silver or tin. For so common were all sorts of wooden stuff in old time, that a man should

* Coarse cloths made of the refuse of wool.

hardly find four pieces of pewter—of which one was peradventure a salt—in a good farmer's house, and yet for all this frugality—if it may be so justly called—they were scarce able to live and pay their rent at their days without selling of a cow or an horse or more, although they paid but four pounds at the uttermost by the year. Such also was their poverty, that if some farmer or husbandman had been at the alehouse, a thing greatly used in those days, amongst six or seven of his neighbours, and there in a bravery to show what store he had, did cast down his purse, and therein a noble or six shillings in silver unto them—for few such men then cared for gold because it was not so ready payment, and they were oft enforced to give a penny for the exchange of an angel—it was very likely that all the rest could not lay down so much against it; whereas in my time, although peradventure four pounds of old rent be improved to forty, fifty or an hundred pounds, yet will the farmer, as another palm or date tree, think his gains very small toward the end of his term, if he have not six or seven years' rent lying by him, therewith to purchase a new lease, beside a fair garnish of pewter on his cupboard, with so much more in odd plate going about the house, three or four feather beds, so many coverlets and carpets of tapestry, a silver salt, a bowl for wine and a dozen of spoons to furnish up the suit.

19. THE ELIZABETHAN ARMY.

Temp. Elizabeth.William Harrison, 'Description
of England' in Holinshed,
Bk. ii., ch. xvi. *Contemporary*.

How well or how strongly our country hath been furnished in times past with armour and artillery it lieth not in me as of myself to make rehearsal. Yet that it lacked both in the late time of Queen Mary, not only the experience of mine elders, but also the talk of certain Spaniards not yet forgotten, did leave some manifest notice. Upon the first I need not stand, for few will deny it. For the second, I have heard that when one of the greatest peers of Spain espied our nakedness in this behalf, and did solemnly utter in no obscure place that 'it should be an easy matter in short time to conquer England, because it wanted armour,' his words were not then so rashly uttered as they were politically noted. For, albeit that for the present time their efficacy was dissembled and semblance made as though he spake but merrily, yet at the very entrance of this our gracious queen into the possession of the crown, they were so providently called to remembrance, and such speedy reformation sought of all hands for the redress of this inconvenience, that our country was sooner furnished with armour and munition, from divers parts of the main (beside great plenty that was forged here at home), than our enemies could get understanding of any such provision to be made. By this policy also was the no small hope conceived by Spaniards utterly cut off, who, of open friends being

now become our secret enemies, and thereto watching a time wherein to achieve some heavy exploit against us and our country, did thereupon change their purposes, whereby England obtained rest, that



SOLDIERS OF THE PERIOD.

From Meyrick's 'Inquiry into Antient Armorie.'

otherwise might have been sure of sharp and cruel wars. . . .

In times past the chief force of England consisted in their long bows. But now we have in manner generally given over that kind of artillery, and for

long bows indeed do practise to shoot compass for our pastimes: which kind of shooting can never yield any smart stroke, nor beat down our enemies, as our countrymen were wont to do at every time of need. Certes the Frenchmen and Reiters, deriding our new archery in respect of their corslets, will not let, in open skirmish, if any leisure serve, to turn up their tails and cry: 'Shoot, English!' and all because our strong shooting is decayed and laid in bed. . . . But as our shooting is thus in manner utterly decayed among us one way, so our countrymen wax skilful in sundry other points, as in shooting in small pieces, the caliver, the handling of the pike, in the several uses whereof they are become very expert.

Our armour differeth not from that of other nations, and therefore consisteth of corslets, almaine rivets, shirts of mail, jacks quilted and covered over with leather, fustian or canvas, over thick plates of iron that are sewed in the same, and of which there is no town or village that hath not her convenient furniture. The said armour and munition likewise is kept in one several place of every town, appointed by the consent of the whole parish, where it is always to be had and worn within an hour's warning. Sometimes also it is occupied when it pleaseth the magistrate either to view the able men, and take note of the well-being of the same, or finally to see those that are enrolled to exercise each one his several weapon, at the charge of the townsmen of each parish, according to his appointment. Certes there is almost no village so poor in England—be it never so small—that hath not sufficient furniture in a readiness to set forth three or four soldiers, as one

archer, one gunner, one pike and a billman at the least. No, there is not so much wanting as their very liveries and caps, which are least to be accounted of, if any haste required: so that, if this good order may continue, it shall be impossible for the sudden enemy to find us unprovided. As for able men for service, thanked be God! we are not without good store; for by the musters taken 1574 and 1575, our number amounted to 1,172,674, and yet were they not so narrowly taken but that a third part of this like multitude was left unbilled and uncalled. What store of munition and armour the queen's majesty had in her storehouses it lieth not in me to yield account, sith I suppose the same to be infinite. And whereas it was commonly said after the loss of Calais that England should never recover the store of ordnance there left and lost, that same is at this time proved false, sith even some of the same persons do now confess that this land was never better furnished with these things in any king's days that reigned since the Conquest. . . .

20. ELIZABETH AND MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

1564.

Sir James Melville, 'Memoirs,' p. 120.
(Bannatyne Club.) *Contemporary.*

In the meantime I was favourably and familiarly used, for during nine days that I remained at the court her majesty pleased to confer with me every day and sometimes thrice upon a day, to wit, a-forenoon, after noon, and after supper. Sometimes she would say that seeing she could not meet with the queen, her good sister, to confer with her familiarly, she was

resolved to open a good part of her inward mind to me, that I might show it again unto the queen. . . .

[On one occasion she said,] ‘I am resolved never to marry if I be not thereto necessitated by the queen, my sister’s, harsh behaviour toward me.’ ‘I know the truth of that, madam,’ said I, ‘you need not tell me. Your majesty thinks if you were married you would be but queen of England; and now you are both king and queen. I know your spirit cannot endure a commander.’

She appeared to be so affectionate to the queen, her good sister, that she expressed a great desire to see her; and because their (so much by her desired) meeting could not be so hastily brought to pass she appeared with great delight to look upon her majesty’s picture. . . .

The queen, my sovereign, had instructed me sometimes to leave matters of gravity and cast in some purposes of merriness, lest otherwise I should be tired upon, she being well informed of her sister’s natural. Therefore, in declaring the customs of Dutchland, Poland and Italy, the buskins of the women was not forgot, and what country weed I thought best becoming gentlewomen. The queen said she had clothes of every sort; which every day thereafter, so long as I was there, she changed. One day she had the English weed, another the French, another the Italian and so forth. She asked me which of them became her best. I answered, in my judgment, the Italian dress; which answer I found pleased her well, for she delighted to show her golden-coloured hair, wearing a caul and bonnet, as they do in Italy.



MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

From an engraving by G. B. Shaw, after the drawing by Wm. Hilton, from a painting in the collection of the Earl of Morton.

Her hair was redder than yellow, curled apparently of nature. Then she entreated to know of me what colour of hair was reputed best, and whether the queen's or hers was best, and which of them two was fairest. I said that the fairness of them both was not their worst faults. But she was earnest with me to declare which of them I thought fairest. I said she was the fairest queen in England and ours the fairest queen in Scotland. Yet she was earnest. I answered they were both the fairest ladies in their countries; that her majesty was whiter, but my queen was very lovesome.

She inquired which of them was of highest stature. I said my queen. 'Then,' said she, 'she is over high; for I myself am neither over high nor over low.' Then she asked what kind of exercises she used. I answered that when I received my dispatch the queen was but lately come from the highland hunting; that when her more serious affairs permitted she was taken up with reading of histories; that she sometimes recreated herself in playing upon the lute and virginals. She asked if she played well. I said, reasonably, for a queen.

21. PARLIAMENT AND THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE.

1566. 'Commons' Journals,' i. 76, 77. (Quoted in Prothero's 'Sel. Stat.,' p. 118.)

November 9.—Mr. Vice-Chamberlain declared the queen's majesty's express commandment to this house, that they should no further proceed in their suit, but to satisfy themselves with her highness' promise of marriage. . . .

November 11.—Paul Wentworth, one of the burgesses, moved whether the queen's commandment was not against the liberties: whereupon arose divers arguments, continuing from nine of the clock till two afternoon.

November 12.—Mr. Speaker, being sent for to attend upon the queen's majesty at the court . . . at his coming after ten of the clock, began to show that he had received a special commandment from her highness to this house, notwithstanding her first commandment that there should not be further talk of that matter: and if any person thought himself not satisfied but had further reasons, let him come before the Privy Council, there to show them.

November 25.—Mr. Speaker, coming from the queen's majesty, declared her highness' pleasure to be that, for her good will to the house, she did revoke her two former commandments, requiring the house no further at this time to proceed in the matter, which revocation was taken of all the house most joyfully with most hearty prayer and thanks for the same.

22. REBELLION OF THE NORTHERN EARLS.

1569.

Holinshed, 'Chronicles,' iv. 235.
(1578.)

On Thursday the ninth of November, Thomas Percy earl of Northumberland received the queen's majesty's letters to repair to the court. And the same night other conspirators perceiving him to be wavering and unconstant of promise made to them,

caused a servant of his, called Beckwith, after he was laid in his bed, to bustle in and to knock at his chamber door, willing him in haste to arise and shift for himself, for that his enemies . . . were about the park and had beset him with great numbers of men. Whereupon he arose and conveyed himself away to his keeper's house. In the same instant they caused the bells of the town to be rung backward, and so raised as many as they could to their purpose. The next night the earl departed thence to Branspith, where he met with Charles earl of Westmoreland and other confederates. Then by sundry proclamations, they abusing many of the queen's subjects, commanded them, in her highness' name, to repair to them in warlike manner, for the defence and surety of her majesty's person; sometimes affirming their doings to be with the advice and consent of the nobility of this realm, who indeed were wholly bent—as manifestly appeared—to spend their lives in dutiful obedience against them and all other traitors; sometimes pretending for conscience sake to seek to reform religion; sometimes declaring that they were driven to take this matter in hand, lest otherwise foreign princes might take it upon them, to the great peril of this realm.

Upon Monday the thirteenth of November, they went to Durham with their banners displayed. And to get the more credit among the favourers of the old Romish religion, they had a cross with a banner of the five wounds borne before them, sometime by old Norton, sometime by others. As soon as they entered Durham, they went to the minster, where they tare the bible, communion books and other

such as were there. The same night they went again to Branspith. The fourteenth day of the said month they went to Darington, and there had mass; which the earls and the rest heard with such lewd devotion as they had. Then they sent their horsemen to gather together such number of men as they could. The fifteenth day the earls parted; he of Northumberland to Richmond, then to Northallerton, and so to Boroughbridge; and he of Westmoreland to Ripon, and after to Boroughbridge, where they both met again. On the eighteenth day they went to Wetherby and there tarried three or four days, and upon Clifford moor, nigh unto Brainham moor, they mistrusted themselves; at which time they [were] about 2,000 horsemen and 5,000 footmen, which was the greatest number that ever they were. From which they intended to have marched forward toward York, but their minds being suddenly altered, they returned.

The three and twentieth of November, they besieged Barnards Castle, which castle was valiantly defended by sir George Bowes and Robert Bowes, his brother, the space of eleven days, and then delivered with composition, to depart with armour, munition, bag and baggage. In which time the queen's majesty caused the said earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland to be proclaimed traitors, with all their adherents and favourers, the four and twentieth of November. The lord Scroop, warden of the west marches, calling unto him the earl of Cumberland and other gentlemen of the country, kept the city of Carlisle. The earl of Sussex, the queen's lieutenant-general in the north,

published there the like proclamations in effect, as had been published by her majesty against the said rebels, and also sent out to all such gentlemen as he knew to be her majesty's loving subjects under his rule; who came unto him with such numbers of their friends, as he was able in five days to make above 5,000 horsemen and footmen. . . . And the twentieth of December they came to Hexham, from whence the rebels were gone the night before to Naworth; where they counselled with Edward Dacres concerning their own weakness, and also how they were not only pursued by the earl of Sussex and others with him, having a power with them of seven thousand men, being almost at their heels; but also by the earl of Warwick and the lord Clinton, high admiral of England, with a far greater army of 12,000 men, raised by the queen's majesty's commissioners out of the south and middle parts of the realm. . . .

The coming forward of these forces caused the rebels so much to quail in courage, that they durst not abide to try the matter with dint of sword. For whereas the earl of Warwick and the lord admiral, being advanced forward to Darington, meant the next day to have sent Robert Glover, then Portcullis and now Somerset herald, . . . unto the rebels, upon such message as for the time and state of things was thought convenient: the same night advertisements came from the earl of Sussex unto the earl of Warwick and to the lord admiral that the two earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland were fled; as the truth was they were indeed—first from Durham, whither the same Glover should have been

sent unto them; and now upon the earl of Sussex' coming unto Hexham, they shrank quite away and fled into Scotland, without bidding their company farewell. The earl of Warwick and his power marched on to Durham. But the earl of Sussex pursuing those other rebels that had not mean to flee out of the realm, apprehended no small number of them at his pleasure, without finding any resistance among them at all.

The fourth and fifth of January did suffer at Durham to the number of three score and six, constables and others, amongst whom the alderman of the town and a priest called parson Plomtree were the most notable. Then sir George Bowes being made marshall, finding many to be fautors in the foresaid rebellion, did see them executed in divers places of the country.

23. THE PAPAL BULL OF DEPOSITION.

1570.

Holinshed's translation, 'Chronicles,'
iv. 252. (1578.)

' Pius, bishop, servant of God's servants etc : She, queen Elizabeth, hath clean put away the sacrifice of the mass, prayers, fastings, choice or difference of meats and single life. She invaded the kingdom, and by usurping monstrously the place of the supreme head of the church in all England, and the chief authority and jurisdiction of the same, hath again brought the said realm into miserable destruction. She had removed the noblemen of England from the king's council. She hath made her council of poor,

dark, beggarly fellows and hath placed them over the people. These councillors are not only poor and beggarly, but also heretics. Unto her all such as are the worst of the people resort and are by her received in safe protection etc.

We make it known that Elizabeth aforesaid and as many as stand on her side in the matters above-named have run into the danger of our curse. We make it also known that we have deprived her from that right she pretended to have in the kingdom aforesaid, and also from all and every her authority, dignity and privilege. We charge and forbid all and every the nobles and subjects and people and others aforesaid, that they be not so hardy as to obey her or her will, or commandments or laws, upon pain of the like accurse upon them. We pronounce that all whosoever by any occasion have taken their oath unto her, are for ever discharged of such their oath, and also from all fealty and service, which was due to her by reason of her government, etc.

24. THE ST. BARTHOLOMEW MASSACRE.

1572.

Ellis, 'Original Letters,' 3rd Series,
iii. 377. *Spelling modernized.*

To Sir Francis Walsingham.

SIR,

This accident in France seemeth to us so strange and beyond all expectation that we can not tell what to say to it; and the excuse *tam παράδοξα* that we wot not what to think of it. The matter appeareth all manner of ways very lamentable; the

king so suddenly and in one day to have despoiled himself and his realm of so many notable captains, so many brave soldiers, so wise and so valiant men. And if they be unguilty of that which is in word laid to them, it is most pitiful. If they were guilty, *cur inaudita causa damnati ac casi?* In such sudden and extreme dealings *cita sed sera pœnitentia solet sequi*. If yet it were sudden, and not of long time premeditated before; and if so, then the worse and more infamous. Thus you see what privately any man may think of the fact. I am glad yet in these tumults and cruel proscriptions that you did escape, and the young gentlemen that be there with you; and that the king had so great pity and care of our nation so lately with straight amity confederate unto him. Yet we here say, that he that was sent by my lord chamberlain, to be schoolmaster to the young lord Wharton, being but come the day before, was then slain. Alas, he was acquainted with nobody, nor could be partaker of any evil dealing.

How fearful and careful the mothers and parents that be here be of such young gentlemen as be there, you may easily guess, by my lady Lane, who prayeth very earnestly that her son might be safely sent home, with as much speed as may be. And if my lady, your wife, with your daughter, and the rest of such as you may spare, were sent away home, until this rage and tempest were somewhat more appeased, you should be the quieter, and disburdened of much of your care. . . .

Our merchants be afraid now to go into France; and who can blame? Who would, where such liberty is given to soldiers, and where *nec pietas nec*

justitia doth restrain and keep back the unruly malice and sword of the raging populace?

Monsieur de la Motte is somewhat spoken to in this matter; and now the vintage, as you know, is at hand, and our traffic into Rouen and other places in France is almost laid down with this new fear. It grieveth no man in England so much as me, and indeed I have in some respects the greatest cause. Fare ye well. From Woodstock the 11th of September 1572.

My lady Lane hath sent by your man thirty pounds in gold to pay her son's debts there and charges in coming home.

Your always assured

T. SMITH.

25. THE BISHOP OF LONDON'S ADVICE TO CECIL.

1572.

Ellis, 'Original Letters,' 2nd Series, iii. 23.

[The following is appended to the bishop's letter, reflecting on the recent massacre of St. Bartholomew.]

1. Forthwith to cut off the Scottish queen's head.
2. To remove from our queen papists and such as by private persuasion overthrow good counsel.
3. The queen's majesty to be guarded strongly with protestants; and others to be removed.
4. Order must be taken for the safe keeping of the Tower, and for good order to be had in London for strengthening of the city, and that they receive no papist of strength to sojourn there this winter.
5. A firm league to be made with the young Scottish king and the protestants there.

6. A league to be made with the princes protestant of Germany, offensive and defensive.

7. The chief papists of this realm are to be shut up in the Tower, and the popish old bishops to be returned thither.

8. The Gospel earnestly to be promoted, and the church not burdened with unnecessary ceremonies.

9. The protestants, which only are faithful subjects are to be comforted, preferred and placed in authority; the papists are to be displaced.

These put in execution, would turn to God's glory, the safety of the queen's majesty and make the realm flourish and stand.

26. FROBISHER AND THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE.

1576. Hakluyt's 'Voyages,' vii. 277. Narration by George Best. *Contemporary*.

[Our general, Captain Frobisher,] being persuaded of a new and nearer passage to Cataya than by Capo de Buona Speranza, which the Portugals yearly use, began first with himself to devise, and then with his friends to confer, and laid a plain plot unto them that that voyage was not only possible by the north-west, but also, he could prove, easy to be performed. And further, he determined and resolved with himself to go make full proof thereof, and to accomplish or bring true certificate of the truth, or else never to return again; knowing this to be the only thing of the world that was left yet undone, whereby a notable mind might be made famous and fortunate. But although his will was great to perform this notable

voyage, whereof he had conceived in his mind a great hope by sundry sure reasons and secret intelligence, which here, for sundry causes I leave untouched; yet he wanted altogether means and ability to set forward and perform the same.

Long time he conferred with his private friends about these secrets, and made also many efforts for the performing of the same in effect unto sundry merchants of our country, above fifteen years before he attempted the same; albeit some evil willers, who challenge to themselves the fruits of other men's labours, have greatly injured him in the reports of the same, saying that they have been the first authors of that action, and that they have learned him the way, which themselves as yet have never gone. But perceiving that hardly he was hearkened unto of the merchants, who never regard virtue without sure certain and present gains, he repaired to the Court, from whence, as from the fountain of our common wealth, all good causes have their chief increase and maintenance, and there laid open to many great estates and learned men the plot and sum of his device. And amongst many honourable minds which favoured his honest and commendable enterprise, he was specially bound and beholding to the right honourable Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, whose favourable mind and good disposition hath always been ready to countenance and advance all honest actions, with the authors and executors of the same. . . .

He prepared two small barks of twenty and five and twenty ton apiece, wherein he intended to accomplish his pretended voyage. Wherefore being

furnished with the foresaid two barks, and one small pinnace of ten ton burden, having therein victuals and other necessities for twelve months' provision, he departed upon the said voyage from Blackwall, the 15th of June 1576. One of the barks wherein he went was named the *Gabriel* and the other the *Michael*; and sailing north-west from England, upon the 11th of July he had sight of an high and rugged land, which he judged to be Friesland [Faroe Islands], whereof some authors have made mention; but durst not approach the same by reason of the great store of ice that lay along the coast, and the great mists that troubled them not a little. Not far from thence he lost company of his small pinnace, which by means of the great storm he supposed to be swallowed up of the sea; wherein he lost only four men. Also the other bark, named the *Michael*, mistrusting the master, conveyed themselves privily away from him, and returned home, with great report that he was cast away.

The worthy captain, notwithstanding these discomforts, although his mast was sprung, and his topmast blown overboard with extreme foul weather, continued his course towards the north-west, knowing that the sea at length must needs have an ending, and that some land should have a beginning that way; and he determined therefore at the least to bring true proof what land and sea the same might be so far to the north-westwards, beyond any that man hath heretofore discovered. And the 20th of July he had sight of an high land, which he called Queen Elizabeth's Foreland, after her majesty's name. And sailing more northerly along that coast,

he descried another foreland, with a great gut, bay or passage, dividing as it were two mainlands or continents asunder. There he met with store of exceeding great ice all this coast along, and coveting still to continue his course to the northwards, was always by contrary winds detained overthwart these straits, and could not get beyond. Within few days after, he perceived the ice to be well consumed and gone; wherefore he determined to make proof of this place, to see how far that gut had continuance, and whether he might carry himself through the same into some open sea on the back side, whereof he conceived no small hope; and so he entered the same the one and twentieth of July, and passed above fifty degrees therein, as he reported, having upon either hand a great main or continent. And that land upon his right hand as he sailed westward he judged to be the continent of Asia, and there to be divided from the firm of America, which lieth upon the left hand over against the same.

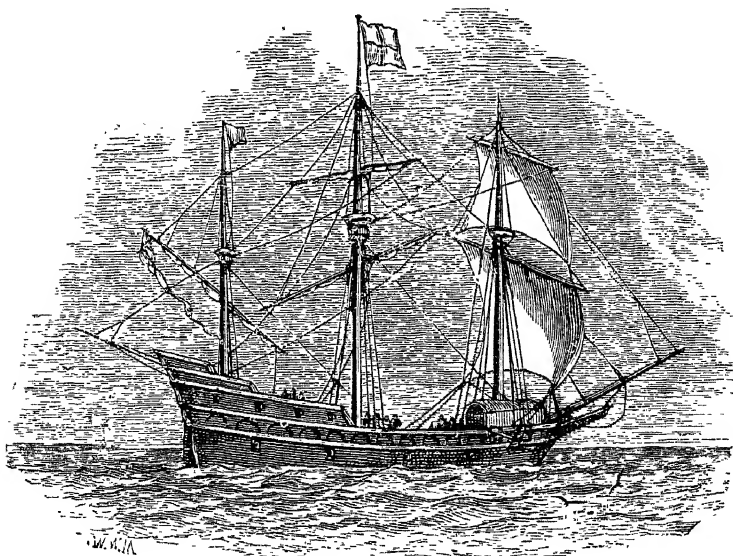
This place he named after his name, Frobisher's Straits, like as Magellanus at the south-west end of the world, having discovered the passage to the South Sea, where America is divided from the continent of that land, which lieth under the South Pole, called the same straits, Magellan's Straits.

After he had passed sixty leagues into this foresaid strait, he went ashore, and found signs where fire had been made. He saw mighty deer, that seemed to be mankind, which ran at him; and hardly he escaped with his life in a narrow way, where he was fain to use defence and policy to save his life. And being ashore upon the top of a hill, he perceived a

number of small things fleeting in the sea afar off, which he supposed to be porpoises, or seals or some kind of strange fish; but coming nearer he discovered them to be men in small boats made of leather. And before he could descend down from the hill, certain of these people had almost cut off his boat from him, having stolen secretly behind the rocks for that purpose; then he speedily hasted to his boat, and bent himself to his halberd, and narrowly escaped the danger and saved his boat. Afterwards he had sundry conferences with them, and they came aboard his ship, and brought him salmon and raw flesh and fish, and greedily devoured the same before our men's faces. And to show their agility, they tried many masteries upon the ropes of the ship after our mariners' fashion, and appeared to be very strong of their arms, and nimble of their bodies. They exchanged coats of seals' and bears' skins and such like with our men, and received bells, looking-glasses and other toys, in recompense thereof again. After great courtesy and many meetings, our mariners, contrary to their captain's direction, began more easily to trust them; and five of our men going ashore were by ~~them~~ intercepted with their boat, and were never since heard of to this day again; so that the captain being destitute of boat, bark and all company, had scarcely sufficient number to conduct back his bark again. He could not now convey himself ashore to rescue his men, if he had been able, for want of a boat; and again the subtle traitors were so wary, that they would after that never come within our men's danger.

The captain, notwithstanding, desirous of bringing

some token from thence of his being there, was greatly discontented that he had not before apprehended some of them; and therefore to deceive the deceivers he wrought a pretty policy. For knowing well how they greatly delighted in our toys, and specially in bells, he rang a pretty loud bell, making



DRAKE'S 'GOLDEN HIND,' IN WHICH HE SAILED ROUND THE WORLD,
1577-1580.

signs that he would give him the same who would come and fetch it. And because they would not come within his danger for fear, he flung one bell unto them, which of purpose he threw short, that it might fall into the sea and be lost. And to make them more greedy of the matter he rang a louder bell, so that in the end one of them came near the

ship's side to receive the bell; but when he thought to take it at the captain's hand, he was thereby taken himself; for the captain being readily provided, let the bell fall and caught the man fast, and plucked him with main force, boat and all, into his bark out of the sea. Whereupon, when he found himself in captivity, for very choler and disdain he bit his tongue in twain within his mouth; notwithstanding he died not thereof, but lived until he came to England, and then he died of cold which he had taken at sea. . . .

27. DRAKE'S RETURN FROM VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

1580. Furnivall, 'Ballads from Manuscripts,' ii. 100.

S^r Francis, S^r Francis, S^r Francis is come;
S^r Robert, and eke S^r William his sonne,
And eke the good Earle of Huntington
March'd gallantly on the Road.

Then came the L^d Chamberlain with his white staffe,
And all the people began to laugh;
And then the Queen began to speak,
'Yo^r wellcome home, S^r Francis Drake.'

You Gallants all o' the Brittish blood,
Why dont you sayle o' th Ocean floud?
I protest you're not all worth a Philbert
If once compared to S^r Humphry Gilbert.

For he went out on a Rainy day,
And to the new found land found out his way,
With many a Gallant both fresh and green,
And he n'er came home agen. God blesse the Queene!

28. STAR-CHAMBER UNDER ELIZABETH.

Sir Thomas Smith, 'De Republica Anglorum,'
1589, Bk. iii., ch. 4. (Ed. L. Alston, p. 115.)
Contemporary.

There is yet in England another court, of the which that I can understand there is not the like in any other country. In the term-time . . . every week once at the least (which is commonly on Fridays and Wednesdays, and the next day after that the term doth end) the lord chancellor and the lords and others of the privy council, so many as will, and other lords and barons, which be not of the privy council, and be in the town, and the judges of England, specially the two chief judges, from nine of the clock till it be eleven, do sit in a place which is called the Star-Chamber, either because it is full of windows, or because at the first all the roof thereof was decked with images or stars gilded. There is plaints heard of riots. . . .

And further, because such things are not commonly done by the mean men, but such as be of power and force, and be not to be dealt withal of every man, nor of mean gentlemen: if the riot be found and certified to the king's council, or if otherwise it be complained of, the party is sent for, and he must appear in this Star-Chamber . . .: for that is the effect of this court, to bridle such stout noblemen or gentlemen which would offer wrong by force to any manner men, and cannot be content to demand or defend the right by order of law. This court began long before, but took augmentation and authority at that time that cardinal Wolsey, archbishop of York, was chan-

cellor of England, who of some was thought to have first devised the court, because that he, after some intermission by negligence of time, augmented the authority of it. . . .

The judges of this court are the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, all the queen's majesty's council, the barons of this land. . . . The punishment most usual is imprisonment, pillory, a fine, and many times both fine and imprisonment.

29. EDMUND CAMPION AND THE JESUIT MISSION.

1581.

Holinshed, 'Chronicles,' iv. 447.
Contemporary.

On Monday, being the twentieth of November, Edmund Campion, Ralph Sherwin, Lucas Kerbie, Edward Rishton, Thomas Coteham, Henry Orton, Robert Johnson and James Bosgrave—all these before-named persons were brought unto the high bar at Westminster, where they were severally and altogether indicted upon high treason; the sum whereof followeth in brief as thus: that these persons, contrary both to love and duty, forsook their native country to live beyond the seas, under the pope's obedience, as at Rome, Rheims and divers other places; where—the pope having with other princes practised the death and deprivation of our most gracious princess, and utter subversion of her seat and kingdom, to advance his most abominable religion—these men having vowed their allegiance to the pope, to obey him in all causes whatsoever, being there gave their consent,—yea, uttermost furtherance

they might, to aid him in this most traitorous determination. And for this intent and purpose they were sent over to seduce the hearts of her majesty's loving subjects, and to conspire and practise her grace's death, as much as in them lay, against a great day, set and appointed, when the general havoc should be made—those only reserved that joined with them. This laid to their charge, they boldly and impudently denied. . . .

When they had notably convicted them of these matters, which with obstinacy they still denied, they came to the intent of their secret coming over into this realm, which was for the death of her majesty and overthrow of the whole realm, which should be by domestical rebellion and foreign hostility. . . . 'Yea,' saith Campion, 'never shall you prove this, that we came over either for this intent or purpose, but only for the saving of souls, which mere love and conscience compelled us to do, for that we did pity the miserable estate of our country. But where are your proofs?' said he. 'These are but quirks by the way; our lives, I perceive, standeth upon points of rhetoric; you have shown us the *antecedent*, now let us have the *ergo*.' With this continuous course of boldness and impudency Campion and his fellows would grant nothing. . . .

The jury, having wisely and discreetly pondered and searched and seen into the depth of every cause, worthily and deservedly gave them up all guilty of the treasons whereof they were indicted and arraigned. . . .

Edmund Campion was first brought up into the cart; where after the great rumour of so many people somewhat appeased, he spake thus.

First he began—the people then present, expecting his confession—with a phrase or two in Latin, when immediately after he fell into English in this manner: ‘I am here brought as a spectacle before the face of God, of angels and of men, satisfying myself to die as becometh a true Christian and catholic man. As to the treasons that have been laid to my charge, I am come here to suffer for, I desire you all to bear witness with me, that thereof I am altogether innocent.’ Whereupon answer was made to him by one of the council, that he might not seem to deny the objections against him, having been proved so manifestly in his face, both by sufficient witness and evidence. ‘Well, my lord,’ quoth he, ‘I am catholic man and a priest, in that faith have I lived hitherto, and in that faith I do intend to die; and if you esteem my religion treason, then of force I must grant unto you, as for any other treason I will not consent unto.’ Then was he moved as concerning his traitorous and heinous offence to the queen’s most excellent majesty. Whereto he answered: ‘She is my lawful princess and queen.’ There somewhat he drew in his words to himself, whereby was gathered that somewhat he would have gladly spoken, but the great timidity and unstable opinion of his conscience, wherein he was all the time even to the death, would not suffer him to utter it.

30. ELIZABETH'S PROPOSED MARRIAGE WITH ANJOU.

1581. Furnivall, 'Ballads from Manuscripts,'
ii. 114.

The kinge of ffrance shall not advance his shoppes in
English sande,
Ne shall his brother ffrancis have the Ruleng of the
lande :
Wee subiects trwe untill oure queene, the forraine
yoke defie,
Where too we plight oure faithefull hartts, our lyñes,
our lives and all ;
Thereby to have our honor rize, or tak our fatall fall.
Therefore, good ffrancis, Rule at home, resist not our
desire ;
for here is notheng else for thee, but onely sworde
and fyer.

31. THROGMORTON'S PLOT: HIS OWN STATEMENT.

1583. Holinshed, 'Chronicles,' iv. 544.
Contemporary.

Mine intelligence with the Scottish queen began a little before Christmas was two years: the cipher I had from Thomas Morgan in France; the first letter I received by Godfrey Fulgeam, by whom also came all such others as I after received for the most part, unless it were such as came to me by F. A. his hands, who as he told me received them of the fellow by me spoken of in my former confessions, whose name, I

protest before God, I know not, nor whence he is. And for such letters as came unto me in the absence of Fulgeam, they were enclosed under a coverture from Fulgeam, and were delivered me by the hands of Robert Tunstead his brother-in-law, unto whom I delivered such as I had for the Scottish queen, covered with a direction unto Fulgeam; and once I remember or twice I sent by one of my men called Butler, letters for the Scottish queen to the house of the said Tunstead, near Buckstones, covered with a direction to Tunstead, and under a letter to Fulgeam. In such letters as came to me from the Scottish queen, were enclosed letters to F. A. many times and most times some for Thomas Morgan. . . .

But before I returned mine answer unto her, I understood of the death of the duke of Lennox, and withal heard from Morgan, with whom all mine intelligence was . . . that by the persuasion of the pope and the king of Spain, the duke of Guise had yielded to performe the journey in person; and that it was thought that the next way to attain liberty for the Scottish queen and to reform Scotland, was to begin here in England. And therefore he desired to know from me, whether in mine opinion, catholics would not back any such force as should be sent, considering a demand of tolerance in religion for them should insure the well performing of the said enterprise; and what I thought the force would amount unto, both of horse and footmen; and where I thought to be the fittest landing. Mine answer was that, as then I saw no great probability of the good success of such an enterprise, for that the catholics were timorous, dispersed, the matter perilous to be

communicated unto many; without which I saw not how any estimate could be made of the forces; besides, that it was an imminent danger unto the Scottish queen, whereof I saw no remedy.

I took notice of this matter in my next letters to the Scottish queen, whose answer was that she lately heard of that determination. . . . Upon my former answer unto Morgan, he desired me that I would confer with the Spanish ambassador, to whom I should be recommended from thence. Hereupon the said ambassador sent for me and brake with me in this matter, assuring me that in his opinion he found it very easy to make great alteration here with very little force, considering the disuse in men to war; and troubles would so amaze them—as he thought—that they would be as soon overthrown as assailed; and he could not think but in such a case catholics would show themselves, since the purpose tended to the obtaining for them liberty of conscience; and therefore he desired me to acquaint him, what I thought men would do in such a case, and where I thought the fittest landing, and what holds in these parts were easiest to be surprised. I answered him that, as it seemed, the enterprise stood upon great uncertainties, if it depended of the knowledge of a certain force to be found here, which no man could assure him of, unless he had sounded all the catholics, which was not possible without a manifest hazard of the discovery of the purpose. For as for any great personage, I know no one to be drawn to this action, that could carry any more than his ordinary retinue; the only way in such a case was, I told him, for such as would be drawn into

this matter and were of credit in their countries, to levy forces under cover of the prince's authority. . . .

Finally our conclusion was that I should inform him of the havens as particularly as I could; and within few days after, finding by him that the force intended hither was far inferior unto that I spoke of, and that there was some difference between the pope and the king of Spain for the charge, I told him that the surest course and of least danger, were to send a supply into Scotland, where a small force would breed a great alteration; and things being there established by the good liking of the king, I thought it was in him, by a continual war and by incursions, so to annoy this state, as her majesty here should be forced to yield the liberty of the Scottish queen, and what should thereupon have been reasonably demanded for the benefit of the catholics here. And herein I said it would be a great furtherance, if at the same time some few were landed in Ireland. . . .

He utterly rejected the purpose for Ireland, and disliked not the purpose for Scotland; but still he was in mind to have forces landed here; and therefore desired me very earnestly to enquire particularly of the havens on the side of Cumberland and Lancashire, and what men were dwelling there that were well affected in religion, and what places easy to be taken, and what apt for fortification. The next time that I went to the Spanish ambassador, he found himself grieved that he understood matters were determined in France without his privity, and told me that Parsons the Jesuit was gone unto Rome, sent, as he thought, to understand the pope's mind. . . .

My brother having made an end of his account with me, returned with this resolution between us, I protest before God, that if the enterprise succeeded not between us between this and the next spring now past, that I would settle my things here and go over. And for this cause, he being gone, I went down into the country, both to sell and take order for my lands in those parts, as also to fetch the draft of gentlemen and havens for the most part of England, which had been set down by me about two years since, and left behind me at Fakenham in my study. Not finding the draft at Fakenham, I returned to London, where I found the note of names in secretary hand, which I carried to the Spanish ambassador, and there drew that other in Roman hand in his study, putting down Chester to be taken, in respect of the easiness as I thought; and the rather to give him encouragement in the matter, I left it with him, promising him that by the next spring I would perfect it, if I tarried so long; making known unto him that I was had in suspicion, and my determination to be gone; but he pressed the contrary of me, assuring me that if the enterprise proceeded not, he would then also depart. . . .

32. ELIZABETH'S NAVY.

W. Harrison, 'Description of England'
(in Holinshed), Bk. ii., ch. 17. *Contemporary.*

The navy of England may be divided into three sorts, of which the one serveth for the wars, the other for burden, and the third for fishermen which

get their living by fishing on the sea. How many of the first order are maintained within the realm it passeth my cunning to express; yet since it may be parted into the navy royal and common fleet, I think it good to speak of those that belong unto the prince, and so much the rather, for that their number is certain and well known to very many. Certainly there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautiful or gallant sort of ships than the queen's majesty of England at this present, and those generally are of such exceeding force that two of them, being well appointed and furnished as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or four of those of other countries, and either bowge them or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home.

Neither are the moulds of any foreign barks so conveniently made, to brook so well one sea as another lying upon the shore of any part of the continent, as those of England. And therefore the common report that strangers make of our ships amongst themselves is daily confirmed to be true, which is, that for strength, assurance, nimbleness, and swiftness of sailing, there are no vessels in the world to be compared with ours. . . . The queen's highness hath at this present—which is the four and twentieth of her reign—already made and furnished, to the number of four or five and twenty great ships, which lie for the most part in Gillingham Road, beside three galleys, of whose particular names and furniture, so far forth as I can come by them, it shall not be amiss to make report at this time. [*Here follows the list, including several names famous in naval*

history; among them are the 'Victory,' the 'Dreadnought' and the 'Revenge.'] . . .

Beside these, her grace hath other in hand also, of whom hereafter, as their turns do come about, I will not let to leave some further remembrance. She hath likewise three notable galleys: the *Speedwell*, the *Try Right*, and the *Black Galley*, with the sight whereof, and the rest of the navy royal it is incredible to say how greatly her grace is delighted: and not without great cause, I say, since by their means her coasts are kept in quiet, and sundry foreign enemies put back, which otherwise would invade us. The number of those that serve for burden with the other, whereof I have made mention already and whose use is daily seen, as occasion serveth in time of the wars, is to me utterly unknown. Yet if the report of one record be anything at all to be credited, there are one hundred and thirty five ships that exceed five hundred ton; top-men, under one hundred and above forty, six hundred and fifty six; hoys, one hundred; but of hulks, catches, fisherboats, and crayers, it lieth not in me to deliver the just account, since they are hard to come by. Of these also there are some of the queen's majesty's subjects that have two or three; some, four or six; and—as I heard of late—one man, whose name I suppress for modesty's sake, hath been known not long since to have had sixteen or seventeen, and employed them wholly to the wafting in and out of our merchants, whereby he hath reaped no small commodity and gain. I might take occasion to tell of the notable and difficult voyages made into strange countries by Englishmen,

and of their daily success there ; but as these things are nothing incident to my purpose, so I surcease to speak of them. Only this will I add, to the end all men shall understand somewhat of the great masses of treasure daily employed upon our navy, how there are few of those ships, of the first and second sort, that, being apparelled and made ready to sail, are not worth one thousand pounds, or three thousand ducats at the least, if they should presently be sold. What shall we think then of the greater, but especially of the navy royal, of which some one vessel is worth two of the other, as the shipwrights have often told me? It is possible that some covetous person, hearing this report, will either not credit it at all, or suppose money so employed to be nothing profitable to the queen's coffers : as a good husband said once when he heard there should be a provision made for armour, wishing the queen's money to be rather laid out to some speedier return of gain unto her grace, 'because the realm,' saith he, 'is in case good enough,' and so peradventure he thought. But if, as by store of armour for the defence of the country, he had likewise understood that the good keeping of the sea is the safeguard of our land, he would have altered his censure, and soon given over his judgment. . . .

For the journeys also of our ships, you shall understand that a well-built vessel will run or sail commonly three hundred leagues or nine hundred miles in a week, or peradventure some will go 2,200 leagues in six weeks and a half. And surely, if their lading be ready against they come thither, there be of them that will be here, at the West Indies, and

home again in twelve or thirteen weeks from Colchester, although the said Indies be eight hundred leagues from the cape or point of Cornwall, as I have been informed. This also I understand by report of some travellers, that, if any of our vessels happen to make a voyage to Hispaniola or New Spain—called in time past Quinquedia and Hayti—which lieth between the north tropic and the Equator, after they have once touched at the Canaries—which are eight days' sailing or two hundred and fifty leagues from S. Lucas de Barameda, in Spain—they will be there in thirty or forty days, and home again in Cornwall in other eight weeks, which is a goodly matter, beside the safety and quietness in the passage. But more of this elsewhere.

33. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT'S LAST VOYAGE.

1583. Hakluyt's 'Voyages,' viii. 69. [Relation of Richard Clarke, master of the *Delight*, with Sir Humphrey Gilbert.]

. . . Those in the frigate were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly; whereupon they besought the general to return for England before they all perished. And to them of the *Golden Hind* they made signs of their distress, pointing to their mouths and to their clothes, thin and ragged; then immediately they also of the *Golden Hind* grew to be of the same opinion and desired to return home.

The former reasons having also moved the general to have compassion on his poor men, in whom he saw no want of good will, but of means fit to perform

the action they came for, he resolved upon retiring; and calling the captain and master of the *Hind*, he yielded them many reasons, enforcing this unexpected return, withal protesting himself greatly satisfied with what he had seen and knew already—reiterating these words: ‘Be content, we have seen enough, and take no care of expense past; for I will set you forth royally the next spring, if God send us safe home. Therefore I pray you let us no longer strive here, where we fight against the elements.’ . . .

The wind was large for England at our return, but very high, and the sea rough, insomuch that the frigate wherein the general went, was almost swallowed up. . . .

Leaving the issue of this good hope [an expedition in the following spring] unto God, who knoweth the truth only, and can at his good pleasure bring the same to light, I will hasten to the end of this tragedy, which must be knit up in the person of our general. And, as it was God’s ordinance upon him, even so the vehement persuasion and entreaty of his friends could nothing avail to divert him from a wilful resolution of going through in his frigate, which was overcharged upon her decks with nettings and small artillery too cumbersome for so small a boat, that was to pass through the Ocean sea at that season of the year, when by course we might expect much storm of foul weather, whereof indeed we had enough.

But when he was entreated by the captain, master and other well-willers of the *Hind*, not to venture in the frigate, this was his answer: ‘I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I

have passed so many storms and perils.' And in very truth, he was urged to be so over hard by hard reports given of him, that he was afraid of the sea; albeit this was rather rashness than advised resolution, to prefer the wind of a vain report to the weight of his own life.

Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had provision out of the *Hind*, such as was wanting aboard his frigate. And so we committed him to God's protection, and set him aboard his pinnace, we being more than 300 leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Islands of Azores south of us; yet then keeping much to the north, until we had got into the height and elevation of England, we met with very foul weather and terrible seas, breaking short and high, pyramid-wise. . . . We had also upon our main yard an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen do call Castor and Pollux. But we had only one, which they take as an evil sign of more tempest; the same is usual in storms.

Monday, the 9th of September, in the afternoon, the frigate was near cast away, oppressed by waves, yet at that time recovered; and giving forth signs of joy, the general, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out unto us in the *Hind* (so oft as we did approach within hearing), 'We are as near to heaven by sea as by land'—reiterating the same speech, well beseeeming a soldier resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testify he was.

The same Monday night, about twelve of the clock, or not long after, the frigate being ahead of us in the *Golden Hind*, suddenly her lights were

out, whereof, as it were in a moment, we lost the sight; and withal our watch cried that the general was cast away, which was too true. For in that moment the frigate was devoured and swallowed up of the sea. Yet still we looked out all that night, and ever after until we arrived upon the coast of England; omitting no small sail at sea unto which we gave not the tokens between us agreed upon, to have perfect knowledge of each other, if we should at any time be separated.

In great torment of weather and peril of drowning, it pleased God to send safe home the *Golden Hind*, which arrived in Falmouth, the 22nd day of September, being Sunday, not without as great danger escaped in a flaw coming from the south-east, with such thick mist that we could not discern land to put in right with the haven.

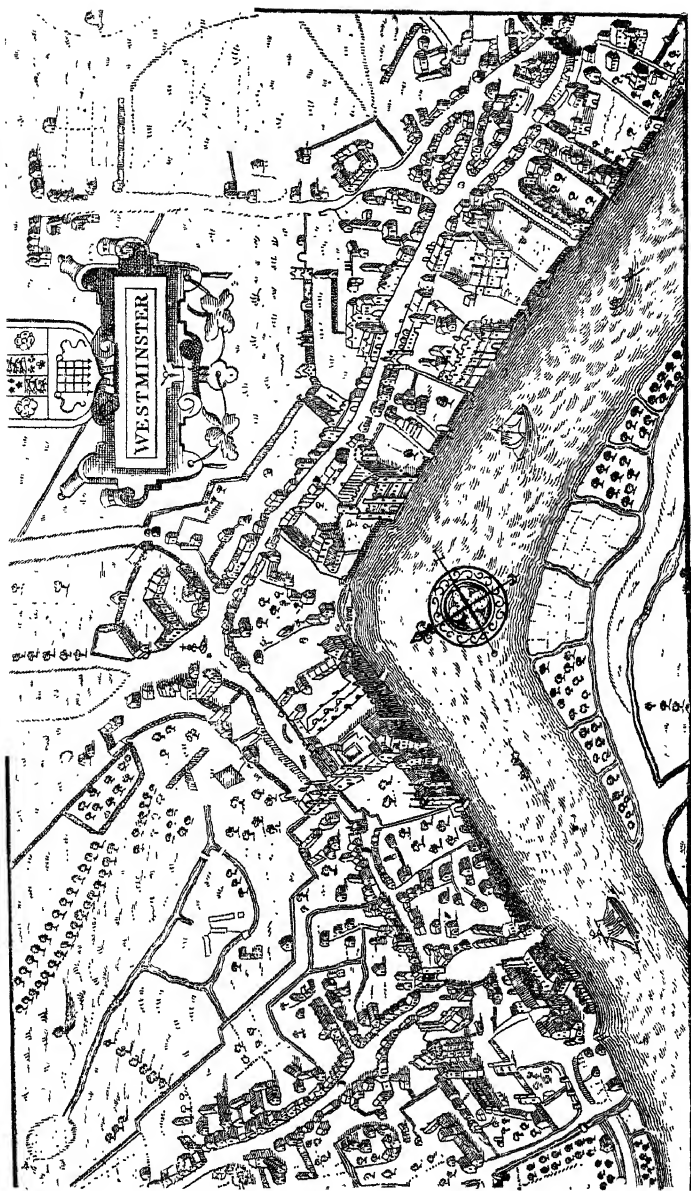
34. DEATH OF SIR PHILIP SYDNEY.

1586. Fulke Greville's 'Life,' p. 128. [Clarendon Press edition.] *Contemporary*.

Thus they go on, every man in the head of his own troop, and the weather being misty, they fell unawares upon the enemy, who had made a strong stand to receive them, near to the very walls of Zutphen; by reason of which accident their troops fell not only unexpectedly to be engaged within the level of the great shot that played from the ramparts, but more fatally within shot of their muskets, which were laid in ambush within their own trenches. . . . Howsoever by this stand, an unfortunate hand out of

those fore-spoken trenches brake the bone of sir Philip's thigh with a musket shot. The horse he rode upon was rather furiously choleric, than bravely proud, and so forced him to forsake the field, but not his back, as the noblest and fittest bier to carry a martial commander to his grave. In this sad progress, passing along by the rest of the army, where his uncle the general was, and being thirsty with excess of bleeding, he called for drink, which was presently brought him; but as he was putting the bottle to his mouth, he saw a poor soldier carried along, who had eaten his last at the same feast, ghastly casting up his eyes at the bottle; which sir Philip perceiving, took it from his head before he drank, and delivered it to the poor man with these words: 'Thy necessity is yet greater than mine!' And when he had pledged this poor soldier, he was presently carried to Arnheim. . . .

The last scene of this tragedy, was the parting between the two brothers; the weaker showing infinite strength in suppressing sorrow and the stronger infinite weakness in expressing of it. So far did invaluable worthiness in the dying brother enforce the living to descend beneath his own worth, and by abundance of childish tears, bewail the public, in his particular loss. . . . And to stop this natural torrent of affection in both, [sir Philip] took his leave with these admonishing words: 'Love my memory; cherish my friends; their faith to me may assure you they are honest. But above all govern your will and affections by the will and word of your Creator; in me beholding the end of this world, with all her vanities.' And with this farewell



PLAN OF THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER IN THE TIME OF ELIZABETH.

desired the company to lead him away. Here this noble gentleman ended the too short scene of his life ; in which path whosoever is not confident that he walked the next way to eternal rest, will be found to judge uncharitably. . . . For my own part, I confess, in all I have here set down of his worth and goodness, I find myself still short of that honour he deserved, and I desired to do him.

35. RALEIGH'S FIRST VIRGINIAN COLONY—A RELIEF EXPEDITION.

1586.

Hakluyt, 'Voyages,' viii. 346.

In the year of our Lord 1586 sir Walter Raleigh at his own charge prepared a ship of an hundred ton, freighted with all manner of things in most plentiful manner, for the supply and relief of his colony then remaining in Virginia ; but before they set sail from England it was after Easter, so that our colony half despaired of the coming of any supply. Wherefore every man prepared for himself, determining resolutely to spend the residue of their life-time in that country. And for the better performance of this their determination they sowed, planted and set such things as were necessary for their relief in so plentiful a manner as might have sufficed them two years without any further labour. Thus trusting to their own harvest, they passed the summer till the tenth of June : at which time their corn which they had sowed was within one fortnight of reaping. But then it happened that sir Francis Drake in his prosperous return from the sacking of

San Domingo, Carthagenæ and St. Augustine, determined in his way homeward to visit his countrymen the English colony then remaining in Virginia. So passing along the coasts of Florida, he fell with the parts where our English colony inhabited; and having espied some of that company, there he anchored and went aland, where he conferred with them of their state and welfare, and how things had passed with them. They answered him that they lived all, but hitherto in some scarcity, and as yet could hear of no supply out of England. Therefore they requested him that he would leave with them some two or three ships, that if in some reasonable time they heard not out of England, they might then return themselves. Which he agreed to. While some were then writing their letters to send into England, and some others making reports of the accidents of their travels, each to other, some on land, some on board, a great storm arose and drove the most of their fleet from their anchors to sea; in which ships at that instant were the chiefest of the English colony. The rest on land perceiving this, hasted to those three sails which were appointed to be left there; and for fear they should be left behind, they left all things confusedly, as if they had been chased from thence by a mighty army; and no doubt so they were, for the hand of God came upon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the native inhabitants of that country.

Immediately after the departing of our English colony out of this paradise of the world, the ship above-mentioned, sent or set forth at the charges of sir Walter Raleigh and his direction arrived at

Hatorask; who after some time spent in seeking our colony up in the country and not finding them, returned with all the aforesaid provision into England.

About fourteen or fifteen days after the departure of the aforesaid ship, sir Richard Grenville, general of Virginia, accompanied with three ships well appointed for the same voyage, arrived there; who not finding the aforesaid ship according to his expectation, nor hearing any news of our English colony there seated and left by him anno 1585, himself travelling up into divers places of the country, as well to see if he could hear any news of the colony left there by him the year before under the charge of Master Lane, his deputy, as also to discover some places of the country; but after some time spent therein, not hearing any news of them, and finding the places which they inhabited desolate, yet unwilling to lose the possession of the country which Englishmen had so long held, after good deliberation he determined to leave some men behind to retain possession of the country. Whereupon he landed fifteen men in the Isle of Roanoak, furnished plentifully with all manner of provision for two years, and so departed for England.

36. DRAKE AT SAN DOMINGO.

1586.

Hakluyt, 'Voyages,' x. 3. *Contemporary.*

All things being thus considered on, the whole forces were commanded in the evening to embark themselves in pinnaces, boats or other small barques

appointed for this service. Our soldiers being thus embarked, the general put himself into the barque *Francis* as admiral, and all this night we lay on the sea, bearing small sail until our arrival to the landing place, which was about the breaking of the day ; and so we landed, being New Year's day, nine or ten miles to the westwards of that brave city of San Domingo. For at that time, nor yet is known to us any landing place where the sea-surge doth not threaten to upset a pinnace or boat. Our general having seen us all landed in safety, returned to his fleet, bequeathing us to God and the good conduct of master Carlile our lieutenant-general. At which time, being about eight of the clock, we began to march, and about noon-time or towards one of the clock we approached the town, where the gentlemen and those of the better sort, being some hundred and fifty brave horses, or rather more, began to present themselves. But our small shot played upon them, which were so sustained with good proportion of pikes in all parts, as they finding no part of our troop unprepared to receive them—for you must understand they viewed all round about—they were thus driven to give us leave to proceed towards the two gates of the town, which were the next to the seaward. They had manned them both, and planted their ordinance for that present and sudden alarm without the gate, and also some troops of small shot in ambuscado upon the hie way side. We divided our whole force, being some thousand or twelve hundred men into two parts, to enterprise both the gates at one instant, the lieutenant-general having openly vowed to captain Powel, who led the

troop that entered the other gate, that with God's good favour he would not rest until our meeting in the market-place.

Their ordinance had no sooner discharged upon our near approach, and made some execution among us, though not much, but the lieutenant-general began forthwith to advance both his voice of encouragement and pace of marching, the first man that was slain with the ordinance being very near unto himself; and thereupon hasted all that he might, to keep them from the recharging of the ordinance. And notwithstanding their ambuscados, we marched or rather ran so roundly into them, as pell mell we entered the gates, and gave them more care every man to save himself by flight, than reason to stand any longer to their broken fight. We forthwith repaired to the market-place---but to be more truly understood, a place of very fair spacious square ground---whither also came, as had been agreed, captain Powel with the other troop. Which place, with some part next unto it, we strengthened with barricados and there, as the most convenient place, assured ourselves---the city being far too spacious for so small and weary a troop to undertake to guard. Somewhat after midnight they who had the guard of the castle, hearing us busy about the gates of the said castle, abandoned the same; some being taken prisoners, and some fleeing away by the help of boats to the other side of the haven, and so into the country.

The next day we quartered a little more at large, but not into the half part of the town; and so making substantial trenches and planting all the

ordinance, that each part was correspondent to other, we held this town the space of one month.

In the which time happed some accidents, more than are well remembered for the present ; but amongst other things it chanced that the general sent on his message to the Spaniards a negro boy with a flag of white, signifying truce, as is the Spaniards' ordinary manner to do there, when they approach to speak to us : which boy unhappily was first met withal by some of those who had been belonging as officers for the king in the Spanish galley which, with the town, was lately fallen into our hands ; who without all order or reason, and contrary to that good usage wherewith we had entertained their messengers, furiously struck the poor boy through the body with one of their horsemen's staves ; with which wound the boy returned to the general, and after he had declared the manner of this wrongful cruelty died forthwith in his presence. Wherewith the general being greatly passioned, commanded the provost marshal to cause a couple of friars then prisoners to be carried to the same place where the boy was struck, accompanied with sufficient guard or our soldiers, and there presently to be hanged, despatching at the same instant another poor prisoner with this reason wherefore this execution was done ; and with this message further, that until the party who had thus murdered the general's messenger were delivered into our hands, to receive condign punishment, there should no day pass wherein there should not two prisoners be hanged, until they were all consumed which were in our hands.

Whereupon the day following, he that had been captain of the king's galley brought the offender to the town's end, offering to deliver him into our hands ; but it was thought to be a more honourable revenge to make them there in our sight, to perform the execution themselves ; which was done accordingly. . . . In this time also passed many treaties between their commissioners and us, for ransom of their city ; but upon disagreements we still spent the early mornings in firing the outmost houses ; but they being built very magnificently of stone, with high lofts, gave us no small travail to ruin them. And albeit for divers days together we ordained each morning by daybreak, until the heat began at nine of the clock, that 200 mariners did nought else but labour to fire and burn the said houses without our trenches, while the soldiers in a like proportion stood forth for their guard, yet did we not—or could not—in this time consume so much as one third part of the town. . . . And so in the end, what wearied with firing and what hastened by some other respects, we were contented to accept of five and twenty thousand ducats of five shillings sixpence the piece, for the ransom of the rest of the town.

37. PARLIAMENT AND MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

1586.

'D'Ewes' Journals,' pp. 380-402. (Quoted by Prothero, 'Sel. Stat.,' p. 109.)

May it please your most excellent majesty, we, your humble, loving and faithful subjects, the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, having of longtime to our intolerable grief, seen

by how manifold, most dangerous and execrable practices, Mary . . . commonly called the Queen of Scots, hath compassed the destruction of your majesty's sacred and most royal person . . . and thereby not only to bereave us of the sincere and true religion of Almighty God, bringing us and this noble crown back again into the thralldom of the Romish tyranny, but also utterly to ruinate and overthrow the happy state and commonweal of this realm: and seeing also what insolent boldness is grown in the heart of the same queen, through your majesty's former exceeding favours towards her; and thereupon weighing, with heavy and sorrowful hearts, in what continual peril of suchlike desperate conspiracies and practices your majesty's most royal and sacred person and life (more dear unto us than our own) is and shall be still, without any possible means to prevent it, so long as the said Scottish queen shall be suffered to continue, and shall not receive that due punishment which, by justice and the laws of this your realm, she hath so often and so many ways, for her most wicked and detestable offences, deserved: therefore . . . we do most humbly beseech your most excellent majesty that, as well in respect of the continuance of the true religion now professed among us and of the safety of your most royal person and estate, as in regard of the preservation and defence of us your most loving, dutiful and faithful subjects and the whole commonwealth of this realm, it may please your highness to take speedy order, that declaration of the same sentence and judgment be made and published by proclamation, and that thereupon direction be given

for further proceedings against the said Scottish queen, according to the effect and true meaning of the said statute: because, upon advised and great consultation, we cannot find that there is any possible means to provide for your majesty's safety, but by the just and speedy execution of the said queen: . . . and if the same be not put in present execution, we your most loving and dutiful subjects, shall thereby (so far as man's reason can reach) be brought into utter despair of the continuance amongst us of the true religion of Almighty God, and of your majesty's life, and the safety of all your faithful subjects, and the good estate of this most flourishing commonweal.

The Queen's Answer, 24 November, 1586.

That her highness, moved with some commiseration for the Scottish queen, in respect of her former dignity and great fortunes in her younger years, her nearness of kindred to her majesty and also of her sex, could be well pleased to forbear the taking of her blood, if by any other means to be devised by her highness' Great Council of this realm, the safety of her majesty's person and government might be preserved, without danger of ruin and destruction, and else not; therein leaving them all nevertheless to their own free liberty and dispositions of proceeding otherwise at their choice.

To which the Houses made Reply.

That having often conferred and debated on that question, according to her highness' commandment,

they could find no other way than was set down in their petition.

The Queen's Second Answer.

If I should say unto you that I mean not to grant your petition, by my faith I should say unto you more than perhaps I mean. And if I should say unto you I mean to grant your petition, I should then tell you more than is fit for you to know. And thus I must deliver you an answer answerless.

38. TRIAL OF MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

1586. Ellis, 'Original Letters,' 1st Series, iii. 12.

Lord Burghley to Secretary Davison.

MR. SECRETARY,

Yesternight upon receipt of your letter dated on Thursday, I wrote what was thought would be this day's work. This Queen of the Castle was content to appear again before us in public to be heard, but in truth not to be heard for her defence, for she could say nothing but negatively, that the points of the letters that concerned the practice against the queen's majesty's person was never by her written, nor of her knowledge; the rest, for invasion, for escaping by force, she said she would neither deny nor affirm. But her intention was, by long artificial speeches, to move pity, to lay all blame upon the queen's majesty or rather upon the council, that all the troubles past did ensue—avowing her reasonable offers and our refusals: and in these her speeches I did so encounter her with reasons out of my knowledge and experience, as she

had not that advantage she looked for; as I am assured the auditory did find her case not piteable, her allegations untrue; by which means great debate fell yesternight very long, and this day renewed with great stomaching. But we had great reason to prorogue our session which is run till the 25th and so we of the council will be at the court the 22nd. And we find all persons here in commission fully satisfied, as, by her majesty's order judgment will be given at our next meeting, but the record will not be provided in five or six days, and that was one cause, why, if we should have proceeded to judgment we should have tarried five or six days more; and surely the country could not bear it, by the waste of bread especially, our company being there, and within six mile about 2,000 horsemen: but by reason of her majesty's letter, we of her council, that is the lord chancellor Mr. Rich, Mr. Secretary and myself only, did procure this prorogation for the other two causes.

And so knowing that by my lord of Cumberland her majesty shall, sooner than this letter can come, understand the course of the proceeding, I will end.

15 October 1586 at Burghley

Your assured lov. friend,

W. BURGHLEY.

39. ELIZABETH AND MARY'S EXECUTION: LETTER TO JAMES VI.

1586.

Ellis, 'Original Letters,' 1st Series,
vol. ii., p. 22.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I would you knew—though not felt—the extreme dolour that overwhelms my mind, for that miserable accident which, far contrary to my meaning, hath befallen. I have now sent this kinsman of mine [Sir Robert Carey] whom ere now it hath pleased you to favour, to instruct you truly of that which is too irksome for my pen to tell you. I beseech you that, as God and many more know how innocent I am in this case, so you will believe me that if I had bid aught I would have abided by it. I am not so base-minded that fear of any living creature or prince should make me afraid to do what were just or make me deny the same. I am not of so base a lineage, nor carry so vile a mind. But, as not to disguise fits not a king, so will I never dissemble my actions, but cause them show even as I meant them. Thus assure yourself of me, that as I know this was deserved, yet if I had meant it I would never lay it on others' shoulders, no more will I damnify myself, that thought it not.

The circumstance it may please you to have of this bearer. And for your part, think you have not in the world a more loving kinswoman, nor a more dear friend than myself: nor any that will watch more carefully to preserve you and your estate. And who shall otherwise persuade you, judge them more partial to others than you. And thus in haste I

leave to trouble you: beseeching God to send you a long reign. The 14th of Feb., 1586.

Your most assured loving sister and cousin
ELIZAB. R.

40. DRAKE'S DESTRUCTION OF THE SPANISH FLEET AT CADIZ.

1587.

Hakluyt, 'Voyages,' vi. 438.
Contemporary.

Her majesty being informed of a mighty preparation by sea, begun in Spain, for the invasion of England, by good advice of her grave and prudent council, thought it expedient to prevent the same. Whereupon she caused a fleet of some 30 sails to be rigged and furnished with all things necessary. Over that fleet she appointed general, sir Francis Drake (of whose manifold former good services she had sufficient proof), to whom she caused four ships of her navy royal to be delivered, to wit, the *Bona-venture*, wherein himself went as general; the *Lion*, under the conduct of master William Borough, controller of the navy; the *Dreadnought*, under the command of Mr. Thomas Venner; and the *Rainbow*, captain whereof was Mr. Henry Bellingham; unto which four ships two of her pinnaces were appointed as hand-maids. There were also added unto this fleet certain tall ships of the City of London, of whose especial good service the general made particular mention in his private letters directed to her majesty. This fleet set sail from the Sound of Plymouth, in the month of April, towards the coast of Spain.



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

From a Dutch engraving by Elstracke.

The 16th of the said month we met in the latitude of 40 degrees, with two ships of Middleburg, which came from Cadiz; by which we understood that

there was great store of warlike provision at Cadiz and thereabout ready to come for Lisbon. Upon this information our general, with all speed possible, bending himself thither to cut off their said forces and provisions, upon the 19th of April entered with his fleet into the harbour of Cadiz; where, at our first entering, we were assailed over against the town by six galleys, which, notwithstanding, in short time retired under their fortress.

There were in the road sixty ships, and divers other small vessels under the fortress; there fled about twenty French ships, and some small Spanish vessels that might pass the shoals. At our first coming in we sunk with our shot a ship of Ragusa of 1,000 tons, furnished with forty pieces of brass, and very richly laden. There came four galleys more, which shot freely at us, but altogether in vain; for they went away well beaten for their pains.

Before night we had taken thirty of the said ships, and became masters of the road, in despite of the galleys, which were glad to retire under the fort; in the number of which ships there was one new ship of extraordinary hugeness, being in burden about 1,200 tons, belonging to the marquis of Santa Cruz, at that instant high admiral of Spain. Five of them were great ships of Biscay, whereof four we fired, as they were taking in the king's provision of victuals for the furnishing of his fleet at Lisbon; the fifth, being a ship about 1,000 tons in burden, laden with iron spikes, nails, iron hoops, horseshoes, and other like necessaries bound for the West Indies, we fired in like manner. Also, we took a ship of 250 tons, laden with wines for the king's

provision, which we carried out to the sea with us, and there discharged the said wines for our own store, and afterwards set her on fire. Moreover we took three flyboats of 300 tons apiece, laden with biscuit, whereof one was half unladen by us in the harbour, and there fired, and the other two we took in our company to sea. Likewise there were fired by us ten other ships, which were laden with wine, raisins, figs, oil, wheat and such-like. To conclude, the whole number of ships and barks, as we suppose, then burnt, sunk, and brought away with us, amounted to thirty at the least, being, in our judgment, about 10,000 tons of shipping.

We found little ease during our abode there, by reason of their continual shooting from the galleys, the fortresses and from the shore; where continually at places convenient they planted new ordnance to offend us with,—besides the inconvenience which we suffered from their ships, which, when they could defend no longer, they set on fire to come among us. Whereupon, when the flood-tide came, we were not a little troubled to defend ourselves from their terrible fire, which nevertheless was a pleasant sight for us to behold, because we were thereby eased of a great labour, which lay upon us day and night, in discharging the victuals and other provisions of the enemy. Thus by the assistance of the Almighty, and the invincible courage and industry of our general, this strange and happy enterprise was achieved in one day and two nights, to the great astonishment of the king of Spain; and it bred such a corrosive in the heart of the marquis of Santa Cruz, high admiral of Spain, that he never

enjoyed good day after, but within a few months, as may justly be supposed, died of extreme grief and sorrow.

Thus having performed this notable service, we came out of the road of Cadiz on the Friday morning, the 21st of the said month of April, with very small loss not worth the mentioning.

41. THE MARQUIS OF SANTA CRUZ URGES DELAY.

1587. 'Calendar of Venetian Papers,' viii., p. 320.

[The marquis has suggested the advisability of postponing the Armada till the following March, and has pointed out objections against sending it to Scotland or Ireland rather than to England. . . .]

SIRE,

. . . If it be really decided to go to England itself I would only observe that this Armada, even when united with the troops of the duke of Parma, which would at this season be embarked and carried over the straits with no small difficulty, does not seem to me sufficient to attempt this enterprise in the very heart of the winter. We have no harbours at hand in case of need, and the tide is extremely strong, the sea all open to the south winds. Nor, in my opinion, would it be such an easy matter to take the Isle of Wight, or any other harbour, for the shelter of our fleet, as is represented to your majesty by those who stake nothing on the risk, and have not been taught the difference between victory and defeat. . . .

If, after all, your majesty should insist on my

sailing, be assured that you will not have either officer or private who will risk his life with greater alacrity, courage and ardour. But, as I have humbly expressed it, my opinion is that the sailing of the Armada should be delayed, if not till March, at least till the middle of February, to allow the weather to grow milder. And your majesty must remember that should any misfortune befall the fleet, which God forbid, it would be impossible to put together another such Armada for a long time to come. To me it seems that a sovereign with such a reputation in the world would not allow himself to be swept away by a thirst for vengeance; and true praise and glory do not depend upon rapidity but upon success of action. Should your majesty resolve to accept my advice I would still recommend that the rumour should be circulated that the fleet is to sail at once with a view to frightening the Queen into an open course of action, and compelling her to instruct her agents to deal in earnest with the question of the total restoration of Holland and Zealand.

All these considerations I have thought it my duty to lay before your majesty, whose pardon I crave for my boldness which is born of my ardent desire to serve you; accept the assurance of my readiness to spend my life on the smallest sign from your majesty, to whose royal and serene person may God grant increase of state and all other happiness and prosperity.

42. THE ARMADA PREPARATIONS.

1587. 'Calendar of Venetian Papers,' viii., p. 326.

[The following is a private letter enclosed by the Venetian ambassador in Spain with his own despatches home.]

By a previous courier I wrote to your excellency all that was going on here about the Armada; how the marquis of Santa Cruz made the men work day and night to fit out as large a number of ships as possible, but that in my opinion, the Armada could not be ready before the month of December.

The fleet is in great want of sailors, while the hospitals are full of soldiers, and the further we advance in the winter the more people fall ill. The ships require more repairs than was foreseen, and especially those of the grand duke, and the flagship of the fleet of the New Spain, which are the best ships in the Armada. His majesty has sent express orders that all six are to be careened; my opinion is that they will take a month to fit out, and more, and without them the fleet will not sail; and indeed it is impossible for the marquis, even if he uses all the diligence he can, to keep his promises to his majesty. But I am of opinion that the marquis will be allowed to have his own way, and that the king will prudently let himself be governed. His majesty will show that he has the olive in one hand and the sword in the other for the destruction of the queen of England.

The earl of Morton is in close conference with the marquis, and the common opinion here is that if war breaks out, it will break out in Scotland. The mar-

quis neglects nothing, though there be some who think they are able and know more than he.

The two hundred pieces of cannon which they are casting will soon be ready.

Six days ago eleven English ships seized a Ragusan bound for Lisbon with Catalonian wine, along with four other ships and a carvel.

LISBON, 16th November, 1587.

43. THE ARMADA: DESPATCHES TO WALSINGHAM FROM ENGLISH COMMANDERS.

1588. 'State Papers relating to Defeat of Spanish Armada' [ed. J. K. Langhton], ccxii. 80.

(i.)

SIR,

I will not trouble you with any long letter; we are at this present otherwise occupied than with writing. Upon Friday, at Plymouth, I received intelligence that there were a great number of ships descried off of the Lizard; whereupon, although the wind was very scant, we first warped out of harbour that night, and upon Saturday turned out very hardly, the wind being at South-west; and about three of the clock in the afternoon, descried the Spanish fleet, and did what we could to work for the wind, which by this morning we had recovered, descrying their fleet to consist of 120 sail, whereof there are four galleasses and many ships of great burden.

At nine of the clock we gave them fight, which continued until one. In this fight we made some of

them to bear room to stop their leaks ; notwithstanding we durst not adventure to put in among them, their fleet being so strong. But there shall be nothing either neglected or unhazarded, that may work their overthrow.

Sir, the captains in her majesty's ships have behaved themselves most bravely and like men hitherto, and I doubt not will continue, to their great commendation. And so, recommending our good success to your godly prayers, I bid you heartily farewell. From aboard the *Ark*, thwart of Plymouth the 21st of July, 1588.

Your very loving friend,

C. HOWARD.

Sir, the southerly wind that brought us back from the coast of Spain brought them out. God blessed us with turning us back. Sir, for the love of God and our country, let us have with some speed some great shot sent us of all bigness ; for this service will continue long ; and some powder with it.

(ii.)

RIGHT HONOURABLE,†

This bearer came aboard the ship I was in in a wonderful good time, and brought with him as good knowledge as we could wish. His carefulness therein is worthy recompense, for that God has given us so good a day in forcing the enemy so far to leeward as I hope in God the prince of Parma and the duke of Sidonia shall not shake hands this few days ; and whensoever they shall meet, I believe neither of them will greatly rejoice of this day's service. The town



W. A. Mansell and Co.

COINS STRUCK IN COMMEMORATION OF THE DEFEAT OF THE
ARMADA.

of Calais hath seen some part thereof, whose mayor
her majesty is beholden unto. Business commands
me to end. God bless her majesty, our gracious

sovereign, and give us all grace to live in His fear. I assure your Honour this day's service hath much appalled the enemy, and no doubt but encouraged our army. From aboard her majesty's good ship the *Revenge*, this 29th of July 1588.

Your honour's most ready to be commanded,

FRA. DRAKE.

There must be great care taken to send us munition and victual whithersoever the enemy goeth.

Yours, FRA. DRAKE.

(iii.)

My bounden duty humbly remembered unto your good lordship :—I have not busied myself to write often to your lordship in this great cause, for that my lord admiral doth continually advertise the manner of all things that doth pass. So do others that understand the state of all things as well as myself. We met with this fleet somewhat to the westward of Plymouth upon Sunday in the morning, being the 21st of July, where we had some small fight with them in the afternoon. By the coming aboard one of the other of the Spaniards, a great ship, a Biscayan, spent her foremast and bowsprit; which was left by the fleet in the sea, and so taken up by sir Francis Drake the next morning. The same Sunday there was, by a fire chancing by a barrel of powder, a great Biscayan spoiled and abandoned, which my lord took up and sent away.

The Tuesday following, athwart of Portland, we had a sharp and long fight with them, wherein we spent a great part of our powder and shot, so as it

was not thought good to deal with them any more till that was relieved.

The Thursday following, by the occasion of the scattering of one of the great ships from the fleet, which we hoped to have cut off, there grew a hot fray, wherein some store of powder was spent; and after that little done till we came near to Calais, where the fleet of Spain anchored, and our fleet by them; and because they should not be in peace there, to refresh their water or to have conference with that of the duke of Parma's party, my lord admiral, with firing of ships, determined to renew them; as he did, and put them to the seas; in which broil the chief galleass spoiled her rudder, and so rode ashore near the town of Calais, where she was possessed of our men, but so aground as she could not be brought away.

That morning, being Monday, the 29th of July, we followed the Spaniards; and all that day had with them a long and great fight, wherein there was great valour showed generally of our company. In this battle there was spent very much of our powder and shot; and so the wind began to blow westerly, a fresh gale, and the Spaniards put themselves somewhat the northward, where we follow and keep company with them. In this fight there was some hurt done among the Spaniards. A great ship of the galleons of Portugal, her rudder spoiled, and so the fleet left her in the sea. I doubt not but all these things are written more at large to your lordship than I can do; but this is the substance and material matter that hath passed.

Our ships, God be thanked, have received little

hurt, and are of great force to accompany them, and of such advantage that with some continuance at the seas, and sufficiently provided of shot and powder, we shall be able, with God's favour, to weary them out of the sea and confound them. Yet, as I gather certainly, there are amongst them 50 forcible and invincible ships which consist of those that follow, viz. :

Nine galleons of Portugal of 800 ton apiece, saving two of them are but 400 ton apiece.

Twenty great Venetians and argosies of the seas within the Strait, of 800 apiece.

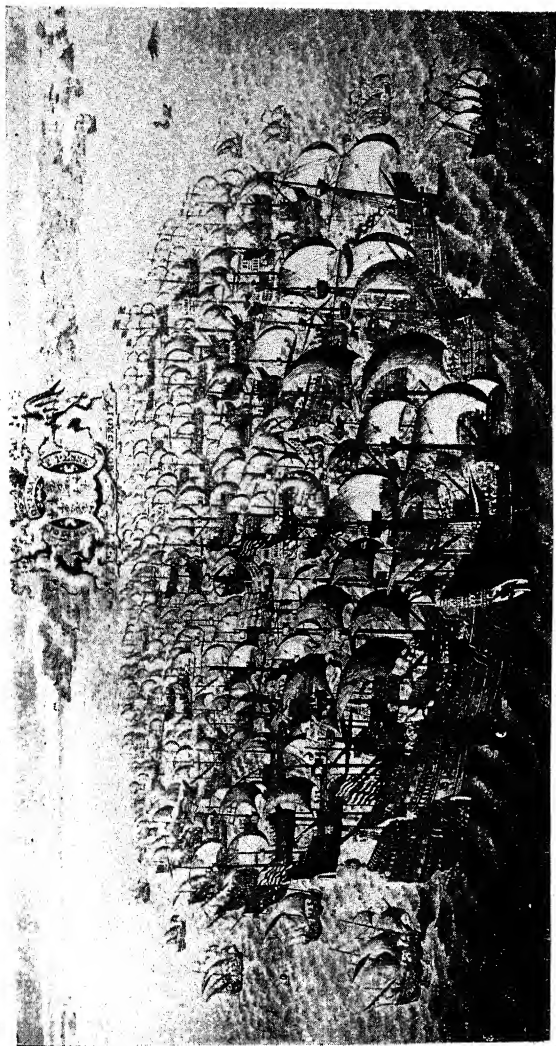
One ship of the duke of Florence of 800 ton.

Twenty great Biscayans of 500 or 600 ton.

Four galleasses, whereof one is in France.

There are 30 hulks, and 30 other small ships, whereof little account is to be made. . . .

At their departing from Lisbon, the soldiers were 20,000, the mariners and others 8,000 ; so as, in all they were 28,000 men. Their commission was to confer with the prince of Parma, as I learn, and then to proceed to the service that should be there concluded ; and so the duke to return into Spain with these ships and mariners, the soldiers and their furniture being left behind. Now the fleet is here, and very forcible, and must be waited upon with all our force, which is little enough. There should be an infinite quantity of powder and shot provided, and continually sent abroad ; without the which great hazard may grow to our country ; for this is the greatest and strongest combination, to my understanding, that ever was gathered in Christendom ; therefore I wish it, of all hands, to be mightily and diligently looked unto and cared for.



THE ARMADA OFF FOWEX.

From Pine's engraving (1739) of tapestry in the House of Lords, destroyed in the fire of 1834.

. . . And so praying to God for a happy deliverance from the malicious and dangerous practice of our enemies, I humbly take my leave. From the sea, aboard the *Victory*, the last of July, 1588.

The Spaniards take their course for Scotland; my lord doth follow them. I doubt not, with God's favour, but we shall impeach their landing. There must be order for victual and money, powder and shot, to be sent after us,

Your lordship's humbly to command,

JOHN HAWKYNs.

44. A SPANISH ACCOUNT OF THE DEFEAT.

1588.

'Calendar of Venetian Papers,' viii. 394.

Our fleet left Calais through fear of the enemy's fire ships and made for the open sea in the endeavour to avoid the mouth of the channel. God wished to punish us for our sins, and more to that than to ought else must be attributed the fact that the wind was in our teeth, and kept blowing up so strongly that, all against our will, we were forced into the channel with the enemy always to windward of us.

On Monday morning the enemy, having reconnoitred our fleet, drew out with his own and began to chase thirty of our ships along the coast by Calais, keeping along the shore and trying to drive them away from it. The rest of their fleet, in order of battle, bore down on us, and began a furious infernal cannonade. The battle lasted about nine hours, in my judgment. This ship and the *St. Matheo* have been so badly damaged that of the few

survivors some were transhipped with the adjutants Don Francesco di Toledo and Don Diego Pimentel. The *St. Matheo* is held for lost.

Another ship, a Biscayan, called the *Maria Juan*, went to the bottom. Her captain, Castion, was saved along with a Navarese gentleman, called Don Gaspro d'Espoletta, all burned about the face, as a page of his told me. . . .

The enemy's fleet numbered upwards of one hundred and thirty sail. The flag-ship of the galleasses, which made for Calais, was attacked and cannonaded; we do not know if she was captured; for my part I think so, and we saw that the castle of Calais fired its guns and tried to shelter the galleass.

Don Felipe di Cordova perished; may God pardon him; so too Don Pedro di Mendoza and other gentlemen, soldiers, gunners, mariners in great numbers, all from the district of Carrion; others went to the bottom. It was a disgusting spectacle which we have seen these last few days. . . .

On Wednesday, the 8th August, in the morning the enemy came out against us so vigorously and so arrogantly, that our leader had some apprehensions, but the grace of God miraculously favoured us. On this day the enemy won the advantage owing to the disorder in which we sailed, the bad weather, and the fear of the last action, in which the duke, with four other ships, while leading the fleet, was so hard pressed that we thought our destruction had come. Fortune was not content with giving us a single foe, she brought out the Flanders galleys as well. The enemy then turned off, took the windward of us, and continued his course in perfect order, and never-

letting our rear-guard out of sight, but keeping just out of cannon shot ; and thus he followed us for all Wednesday, Thursday and Friday.

On that day at nightfall, the enemy forced us back, and on Saturday morning he drew up in order of battle, and came down upon us, but keeping just out of range ; and as we stood waiting the onset the enemy made a tack, stood out to open sea, and gradually drew away from us so that by sundown he was out of sight.

Our route outside Scotland is long ; pray God we come safe home. It is the historian's business to comment on events. I reserve all remarks till I arrive at court, where there will be much to say. For myself I can only add that I am very hungry and thirsty, for no one has more than a half pint of wine and a whole one of water each day ; and the water you cannot drink, for it smells worse than musk. It is more than ten days since I drank any. The voyage is not so short but that there remain to us four hundred leagues of road. They say we are to go straight to Corunna, and the troops are to be lodged in Galicia.

The Gulf of Scalloway, 20th August, 1588 ; in 60 degrees of high latitude.

45. SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE'S LAST FIGHT.

1591.

Sir Walter Raleigh, ' Hakluyt's Voyages,'
vii., p. 38.

Because the rumours are diversely spread, as well in England as in the Low Countries and elsewhere, of this late encounter between her majesty's ships

and the armada of Spain ; and that the Spaniards, according to their usual manner, fill the world with their vainglorious vaunts, making great appearance of victories, when on the contrary, themselves are most commonly and shamefully beaten and dishonoured ; it is agreeable with all good reason, for manifestation of the truth, that the beginning, continuance and success of the late honourable encounter of sir Richard Grenville with the armada of Spain should be truly set down and published without partiality or false imaginations.

The lord Thomas Howard with six of her majesty's ships, six victuallers of London, the bark *Raleigh*, and two or three other pinnaces riding at anchor near unto Flores, one of the westerly islands of the Azores, the last of August in the afternoon, had intelligence by one captain Middleton of the approach of the Spanish armada. This Middleton being in a very good sailer, had kept them company three days before of good purpose, both to discover their forces the more, as also to give advice to my lord Thomas of their approach. He had no sooner delivered the news but the fleet was in sight.

Many of our ships' companies were on shore, some providing ballast for their ships, others filling of water and refreshing themselves from the land with such things as they could, either for money or by force, recover. For this reason our ships were all pestered ; and, that which was most to our disadvantage, the one half part of the men of every ship were sick and utterly unserviceable, for in the *Revenge* there were ninety diseased, and in the *Bonaventure* not so many in health as could handle

her mainsail. . . . The rest, for the most part, were in little better state. . . .

The Spanish fleet having shrouded their approach by reason of the island, were now so soon at hand that our ships had scarce time to weigh their anchors; but some of them were driven to let slip their cables and set sail. Sir Richard Grenville was the last that weighed, recovering the men that were upon the island, which otherwise had been lost. The lord Thomas with the rest very hardly recovered the wind, which sir Richard Grenville not being able to do, was advised by the master and others to cut his mainsail and cast about, and to trust to the sailing of his ship; for the squadron of Seville were on his weather bow. But sir Richard utterly refused to turn from the enemy, alleging that he would rather choose to die than to dishonour himself, his country and her majesty's ship, persuading his company that he would pass through the two squadrons in despite of them and enforce those of Seville to give him way. This he performed upon divers of the foremost, who, as the mariners term it, sprang their luff, and fell under the lee of the *Revenge*. But the other course had been the better, and might right well have answered in so great an impossibility of prevailing. Notwithstanding, out of the greatness of his mind, he could not be persuaded.

In the meanwhile, as he attended those which were nearest him, the great *San Philip*, being in the wind of him and coming towards him, becalmed his sails in such sort that the ship could neither make way nor feel the helm, so huge and high was the

Spanish ship, being of a thousand and five hundred tons. And she after laid the *Revenge* aboard. When he was thus bereft of his sails, the ships that were under his lee, luffing up, also laid him aboard. The said *Philip* carried three tiers of ordnance on a side, and eleven pieces in every tier. She shot eight forth right out of her chase, besides those of her stern posts.

After the *Revenge* was entangled with this *Philip*, four others boarded her, two on her larboard and two on her starboard. The fight thus beginning at three of the clock in the afternoon continued very terrible all that evening. But the great *San Philip* having received the lower tier of the *Revenge*, discharged with crossbar shot, shifted herself with all diligence from her sides, utterly misliking her first entertainment. Some say that the ship foundered, but we cannot report it for truth unless we were assured. . . .

As the Spanish ships which attempted to board the *Revenge* were wounded and beaten off, so always others came in their places, she having never less than two mighty galleons by her side and aboard her; so that ere the morning from three of the clock the day before, there had fifteen several armadas assailed her, and all so ill approved their entertainment that they were by the break of day far more willing to hearken to a composition than hastily to make any more assaults or entries. But as the day increased, so our men decreased; and as the light grew more and more, by so much more grew our discomforts. For none appeared in sight but enemies, saving one small ship called the *Pilgrim*, commanded

by Jacob Whiddon, who hovered all night to see the success; but in the morning, bearing with the *Revenge*, she was hunted like a hare among many ravenous hounds, but escaped.

All the powder of the *Revenge* to the last barrel, was now spent, all her pikes broken, forty of her best men slain, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight she had but one hundred free from sickness, and four score and ten sick laid in hold upon the ballast—a small troop to man such a ship, and a weak garrison to resist so mighty an army. By those hundred all was sustained—the volleys, boardings and enterings of fifteen ships of war, besides those which beat her at large. On the contrary the Spanish were always supplied with soldiers brought from every squadron, all manner of arms and powder at will. Unto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men or weapons; the masts were all beaten overboard, all her tackle cut asunder, her upper work altogether razed, and in effect evened she was with the water,—but the very foundation or bottom of a ship, nothing being left overhead for flight or defence.

Sir Richard finding himself in this distress, and unable any longer to make resistance, and seeing that he and the ship must needs be possessed by the enemy, who were now all cast in a ring round about him—the *Revenge* not able to move one way or the other, but as she was moved with the waves and billows of the sea—commanded the master gunner, whom he knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sink the ship, that thereby nothing might remain of glory or

victory to the Spaniards—seeing in so many hours' fight and with so great a navy they were not able to take her, having had fifteen hours' time, above ten thousand men and fifty and three sail of men-of-war to perform it withal. And he persuaded the company, or as many as he could induce, to yield themselves unto God and to the mercy of none else; but, as they had like valiant resolute men, repulsed so many enemies, they should not now shorten the honour of their nation by prolonging their own lives for a few hours or a few days.

The master gunner readily condescended, and divers others; but the captain and master were of another opinion, and besought sir Richard to have care of them, alleging that the Spaniards would be as ready to entertain a composition as they were willing to offer the same; and that, there being divers sufficient and valiant men yet living, whose wounds were not mortal, they might do their country and prince acceptable service hereafter. And whereas sir Richard had alleged that the Spaniards should never glory to have taken one ship of her majesty, seeing they had so long and so notably defended themselves, they answered that the ship had six feet of water in hold, and three shot under water, which were so weakly stopped that with the first working of the sea she must needs sink; and that she was besides so crushed and bruised that she could never be removed out of the place.

While the matter was thus in dispute and sir Richard was refusing to hearken to any of their reasons, the master of the *Revenge*—for the captain

had won unto himself the greater party—was conveyed aboard the *general* of Don Alfonso Bassan. He, finding none overhasty to enter the *Revenge* again, doubting lest sir Richard would have blown them up and himself, and perceiving by the report of the master of the *Revenge* his dangerous disposition, yielded that all their lives should be saved, the company sent to England, and the better sort to pay such reasonable ransom as their estate would bear; and in the mean season to be free from galleys or imprisonment. To this he so much the rather condescended as well, as I have said, for fear of further loss and mischief to themselves as also for the desire he had to recover sir Richard Grenville, whom for his notable valour he seemed greatly to honour and admire.

When this answer was returned and the safety of life was promised, the common sort being now at the end of their peril, the most drew back from sir Richard and the master gunner. It was no hard matter to dissuade men from death to life. The master gunner finding himself and sir Richard thus prevented and mastered by the greater number, would have slain himself with a sword, had he not been by force withheld and locked into his cabin. Then the *general* sent many boats aboard the *Revenge*, and divers of our men, fearing sir Richard's disposition, stole away aboard the *general* and other ships. Sir Richard thus overmatched was sent unto by Alfonso Bassan to remove out of the *Revenge*, the ship being marvellous unsavoury, filled with bodies of dead and wounded men like a slaughterhouse. Sir Richard answered that he might do with his

body what he list, for he esteemed it not, and as he was carried out of the ship he swooned, and reviving again, desired the company to pray for him. The general used sir Richard with all humanity, and left nothing unattempted that tended to his recovery, highly commending his valour and worthiness; and he greatly bewailed the danger wherein he was, it being unto them a rare spectacle and a resolution seldom approved, to see one ship turn towards so many enemies, to endure the charge and boarding of so many huge armadas, and to resist and repel the assaults and entries of so many soldiers. . . .

Sir Richard died, as it is said, the second or third day aboard the *general*, and was by them greatly bewailed. What became of his body, whether it were buried in the sea or on the land, we know not; but the comfort that remaineth to his friends is, that he hath ended his life honourably in respect of the reputation won to his nation and country and of the fame to his posterity, and that, being dead, he hath not outlived his own honour. . . .

46. ELIZABETH AND PARLIAMENT.

1593.

'D'Ewe's Journals,' pp. 460 and 478.
(Quoted in Prothero's 'Sel. Stat,'
p. 124.)

(a) *Speech by the Lord Keeper.* 19 February.

. . . To your three demands the Queen answereth; liberty of speech is granted you; but how far this is to be thought on, there be two things of most necessity, and those two do most harm, which are

wit and speech : the one exercised in invention, and the other in uttering things invented. Privilege of speech is granted, but you must know what privilege you have ; not to speak everyone what he listeth, or what cometh in his brain to utter that ; but your privilege is, *aye* or *no*. Wherefore Mr. Speaker, her majesty's pleasure is, that if you perceive any idle heads, which will not stick to hazard their own estates, which will meddle with reforming the Church and transforming the commonwealth, and do exhibit any bills to such purpose, that you receive them not, until they be viewed and considered by those who it is fitter should consider of such things and can better judge of them. To your persons all privilege is granted, with this caveat, that under colour of this privilege, no man's ill-doings or not performing of duties be covered and protected. The last : free access is granted to her majesty's person, so that it be upon urgent and weighty causes, and at times convenient, and when her majesty may be at leisure from other important causes of the realm.

(b) *Message from the Queen to the Commons.*
27 February.

[*The Speaker.*] The message delivered unto me from her majesty consisteth of three things ; first, the end for which the parliament was called : secondly, the speech which her majesty used by my lord keeper : thirdly, what her pleasure and commandment now is. For the first, ' It is in me and my power ' (I speak now in her majesty's person) to call parliaments ; and it is in my power to end and

determine the same ; it is in my power to assent or dissent to anything done in parliament.' . . .

Her majesty's most excellent pleasure being then delivered unto us by the lord keeper, it was not meant we should meddle with matters of state, or in causes ecclesiastical (for so her majesty termed them). She wondered 'that any would be of so high commandment to attempt' (I use her own words) 'a thing contrary to that which she hath so expressly forbidden'; wherefore, with this she was highly displeased. And because the words then spoken by my lord keeper are not now perhaps well remembered, or some be now here that were not there, her majesty's present charge and express command is, 'That no bills touching matters of state, or reformation in causes ecclesiastical, be exhibited.' And, upon my allegiance, I am commanded, if any such bill be exhibited, not to read it.

47. ELIZABETH AND THREATENED INVASION.

1593. Somers' 'Collection of Historical Tracts,'
i. 463.

A speech made by queen Elizabeth . . . in parliament.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

This kingdom hath had many wise, noble and victorious princes ; I will not compare with any of them in wisdom, fortitude or any other virtues ; but saving the duty of a child, that is not to compare with his father in love, care, sincerity and justice, I will compare with any prince that ever you had, or shall have.

It may be thought simplicity in me, that, all this time of my reign, I have not sought to advance my territories, and enlarge my dominions; for opportunity hath served me to do it. I acknowledge my womanhood and weakness in that respect; but though it hath not been hard to obtain, yet I doubted how to keep the things so obtained; and I must say, my mind was never to invade my neighbours, or to usurp over any; I am contented to reign over my own, and to rule as a just princess.

Yet the king of Spain doth challenge me to be the quarreller, and the beginner of all these wars; in which he doth me the greatest wrong that can be, for my conscience doth not accuse my thoughts, wherein I have done him the least injury; but I am persuaded in my conscience, if he knew what I know, he himself would be sorry for the wrong, that he hath done me.

I fear not all his threatenings; his great preparations and mighty forces do not stir me; for though he come against me with a greater power than ever was his invincible navy, I doubt not—God assisting me, upon whom I always trust—but that I shall be able to defeat and overthrow him. I have great advantage against him, for my cause is just.

I heard say, when he attempted his last invasion, some upon the sea-coast forsook their towns, and flew up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance: but I swear unto you, if I knew those persons, or any that should do so hereafter, I will make them know and feel what it is to be so fearful in so urgent a cause.

The subsidies you give me, I accept thankfully, if

you give me your good wills with them ; but if the necessity of the time, and your preservations did not require it, I would refuse them ; but let me tell you that the sum is not so much, but that it is needful for a princess to have so much always lying in her coffers for your defence in time of need, and not to be given to get it, when we should use it.

You that be lieutenants and gentlemen of command in your countries, I require you to take care that the people be well armed, and in readiness upon all occasions. You that be judges and justices of the peace, I command and straightly charge you, that you see the laws to be duly executed, and that you make them living laws, when we have put life into them.

48. THE POOR LAW.

1598.

'Statutes of the Realm,' iv., pt. ii.

I. Be it enacted, That the churchwardens of every parish and four substantial householders there being subsidy men, or (for want of subsidy men) four other substantial householders of the said parish, who shall be nominated yearly in Easter week under the hand and seal of two or more justices of the peace in the same county . . . shall be called overseers of the poor of the same parish ; and they . . . shall take order from time to time with the consent of two or more such justices of peace for setting to work of the children of all such whose parents shall not by the said persons be thought able to keep and maintain their children,

and also all such persons, married or unmarried, as, having no means to maintain them, use no ordinary and daily trade of life to get their living by; and also to raise . . . by taxation of every inhabitant and every occupier of lands in the said parish . . . a convenient stock of flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron and other stuff to set the poor on work, and also competent sums of money for the necessary relief of the lame, impotent, old, blind and such other among them being poor and not able to work, and also for the putting out of such children to be apprentices . . . and to do all other things . . . concerning the premises as t^o them shall seem convenient; which said churchwardens and overseers so to be nominated . . . shall meet together at the least once every month in the church of the said parish, upon the Sunday in the afternoon after divine service, there to consider of some good course to be taken . . . in the premises . . .

II. And be it also enacted, That if the said justices of peace do perceive that the inhabitants of any parish are not able to levy among themselves sufficient sums of money for the purposes aforesaid, that then the said justices shall tax . . . any other of other parishes, . . . within the hundred where the said parish is, to pay such sums of money . . . as the said justices shall think fit, according to the intent of this law; and if the said hundred shall not be thought to the said justices able to relieve the said several parishes . . . then the justices of peace at their several quarter sessions shall rate and assess as aforesaid any other of other parishes . . . within the said county for the purposes aforesaid as in their discretion shall seem fit.

III. [Sale of goods and imprisonment of those who refuse to pay tax; house of correction for 'such as shall not employ themselves to work, being appointed thereto as aforesaid.']

IV. [Overseers able to bind such children in apprenticeship.]

V. And to the intent that necessary places of habitation may more conveniently be provided for such poor impotent people . . . it shall be lawful for the said churchwardens and overseers by the leave of the lord or lords of the manor whereof any waste or common within their parish is parcel . . . to erect in fit and convenient places of habitation in such waste or common, at the general charges of the parish or otherwise of the hundred or county as aforesaid . . . , convenient houses of dwelling for the said impotent poor. . . .

VII. And be it further enacted, That the parents or children of every poor . . . and impotent person . . . being of sufficient ability, shall at their own charges relieve and maintain every such poor person in that manner and according to that rate as by the justices of peace . . . shall be assessed; upon pain that every one of them to forfeit 20s. for every month which they shall fail therein.

X. And be it further enacted, That . . . no person shall go wandering abroad and beg in any place whatsoever, by license or without, upon pain to be taken and punished as a rogue, provided always that this present Act shall not extend to any poor people which shall ask relief of victuals only in the same parish where such poor people do dwell, so the same be . . . according to such order as shall be made by the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the same parish.

[This Act, containing in all seventeen clauses, is amended and confirmed by the famous Act of 1601.]

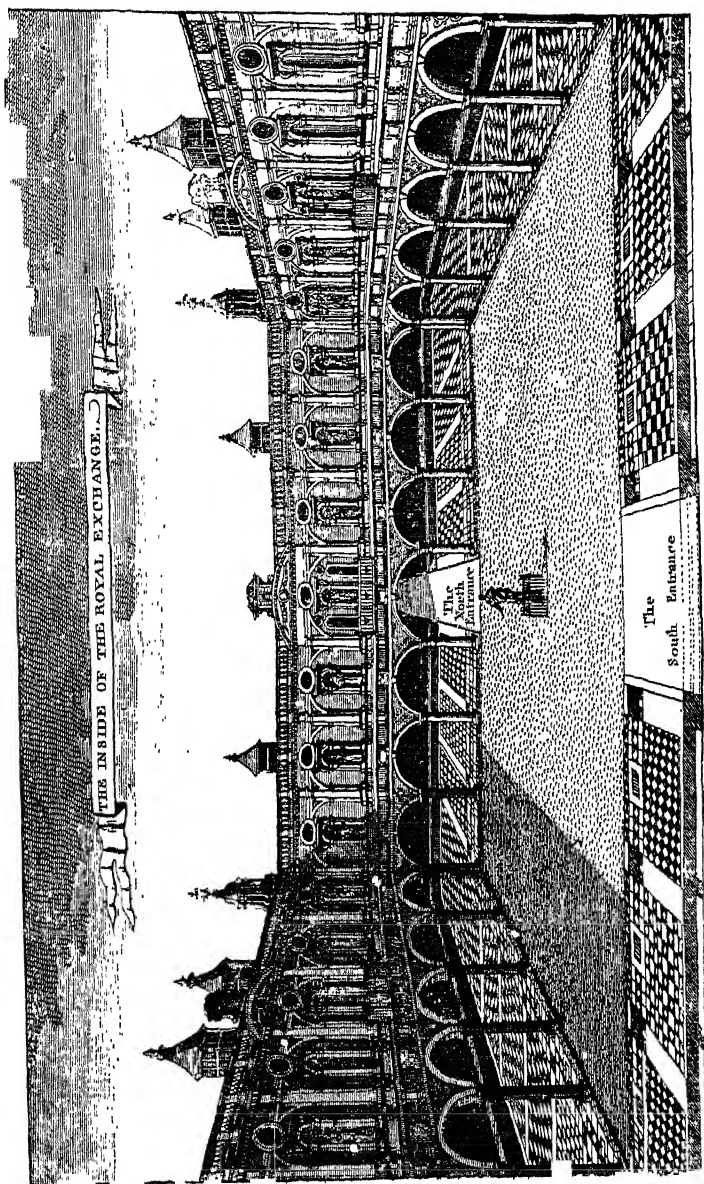
49. MONOPOLIES.

1601. 'Townsend's Journals,' pp. 230-249. (Quoted by Prothero, 'Sel. Stat.,' p. 111.)

(a) *Debate in Parliament.*

Mr. Francis Bacon said: . . . I confess the bill, as it is, is in few words, but yet ponderous and weighty. For the prerogative royal of the prince, for my own part I ever allowed of it, and it is such as I hope shall never be discussed. The Queen, as she is our sovereign, hath both an enlarging and restraining liberty of her prerogative; that is, she hath power by her patents to set at liberty things restrained by statute law or otherwise; and by her prerogative she may restrain things that are at liberty. . . . I say, and I say again, that we ought not to deal or meddle with or judge of her majesty's prerogative. . . .

Dr. Bennet. He that will go about to debate her majesty's prerogative royal, must walk warily. In respect of a grievance out of that city for which I serve, I think myself bound to speak that now which I had not intended to speak before; I mean a monopoly of salt. It is an old proverb, 'Sal sapit omnia'; fire and water are not more necessary. But for other monopolies of cards (at which word sir Walter Rawleigh blushed) dice, starch, etc., they are, because monopolies, I must confess, very hateful, though not so hurtful. I know there is a great difference in them; and I think, if the abuse in this monopoly of salt were particularized, this would walk in the front rank. . . .



INTERIOR OF THE ROYAL EXCHANGE.

Mr. Francis Moore. Mr. Speaker, I know the Queen's prerogative is a thing curious to be dealt withal, yet. all grievances are not comparable. I cannot utter with my tongue or conceive with my heart the great grievances that the town and country, for which I serve, suffer by some of these monopolies. It bringeth the general profit into a private hand, and the end of all is beggary and bondage to the subjects. We have a law for the true and faithful currying of leather : there is a patent that sets all at liberty, notwithstanding that statute. And to what purpose is it to do anything by act of parliament, when the Queen will undo the same by her prerogative ? Out of the spirit of humility, Mr. Speaker, I do speak it : there is no act of hers that hath been or is more derogatory to her own majesty, or more odious to the subject, or more dangerous to the commonwealth than the granting of these monopolies.

Mr. Secretary Cecil. If there had not been some mistaking or confusion in the committee, I would not now have spoken. The question was, of the most convenient way to reform these grievances of monopolies : but after disputation, of that labour, we have not received the expected fruit. . . . This dispute draws two great things in question : first, the prince's power ; secondly, the freedom of Englishmen. I am born an Englishman, and a fellow-member of this House ; I would desire to live no day, in which I should detract from either. I am servant to the Queen ; and before I would speak or give my consent to a case that should debase her prerogative or abridge it, I would wish my tongue

cut out of my head. . . . For my own part, I like not these courses should be taken. And you, Mr. Speaker, should perform the charge her majesty gave unto you at the beginning of this parliament not to receive bills of this nature; for her majesty's ears be open to all grievances, and her hand stretched out to every man's petition. For the matter of access I like it well, so it be first moved and the way prepared. I had rather all the patents were burnt than her majesty should lose the hearts of so many subjects as is pretended she will.

(b) The Queen's Message to the Commons through the Speaker.

It pleased her majesty to command me to attend upon her yesterday in the afternoon, from which I am to deliver unto you all her majesty's most gracious message, sent by my unworthy self. . . . It pleased her majesty to say unto me, That if she had an hundred tongues she could not express our hearty good-wills. And further she said, That as she had ever held our good most dear, so the last day of our or her life should witness it; and that if the least of her subjects were grieved, and herself not touched, she appealed to the throne of Almighty God, how careful she hath been, and will be, to defend her people from all oppressions. She said, That partly by intimation of her council, and partly by divers petitions that have been delivered unto her both going to chapel and also walking abroad, she understood that divers patents, that she had granted, were grievous to her subjects; and that the sub-

stitutes of the patentees had used great oppression. But, she said, she never assented to grant anything which was *malum in se*. And if in the abuse of her grant there be anything evil, which she took knowledge there was, she herself would take present order of reformation thereof. I cannot express unto you the apparent indignation of her majesty towards these abuses. She said her kingly prerogative was tender; and therefore desireth us not to speak or doubt of her careful reformation; for, she said, her commandment given a little before the late troubles (meaning the earl of Essex's matters) by the unfortunate event of them was not so hindered, but that since that time, even in the midst of her most great and weighty occasions, she thought upon them. And that this should not suffice, but that further order should be taken presently, and not *in futuro* (for that also was another word which I take it her majesty used), and that some should be presently repealed, some suspended, and none put in execution but such as should first have a trial according to the law for the good of the people. Against the abuses her wrath was so incensed, that she said that she neither could nor would suffer such to escape with impunity. So to my unspeakable comfort she hath made me the messenger of this her gracious thankfulness and care.

50. ON QUEEN ELIZABETH.

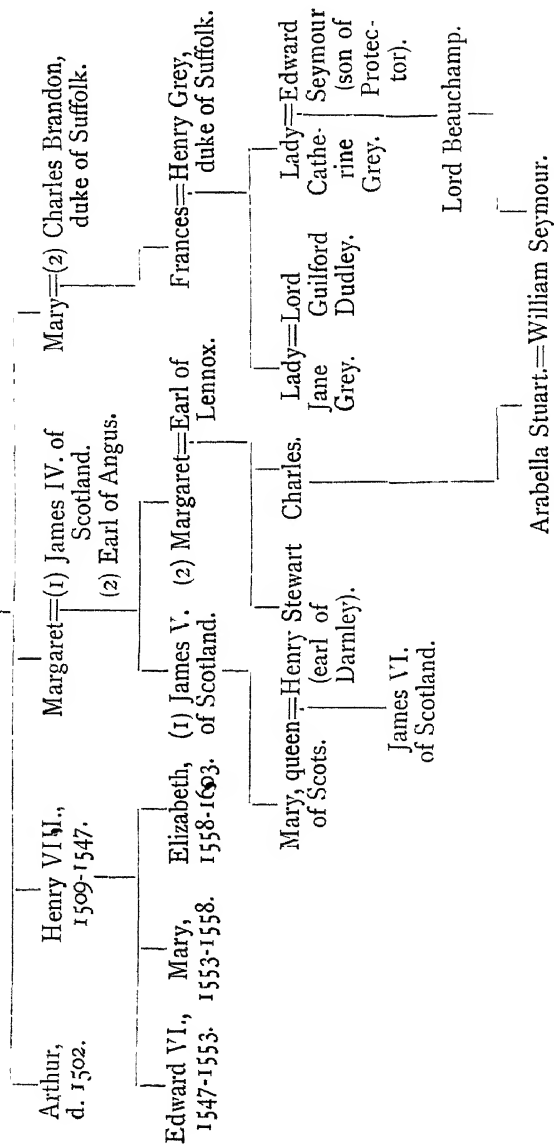
Furnivall, 'Ballads from Manuscripts,' ii. 102.

Eliza, that great Maiden Queen, lies here,
Who governd England fower an forty yeare;
Our Coynes Refined, Ireland Tamde, Belgim pro-
tected,
Frinded France, foyld Spaign, and Pope rejected:
Princes found her powerfull, the world virtuous,
Her subjects wise and fast, and God religious:
God hath her soul, the world hir Admiration,
Subjects hur good deeds, Princes hur Imitation.
finis Char: Best.

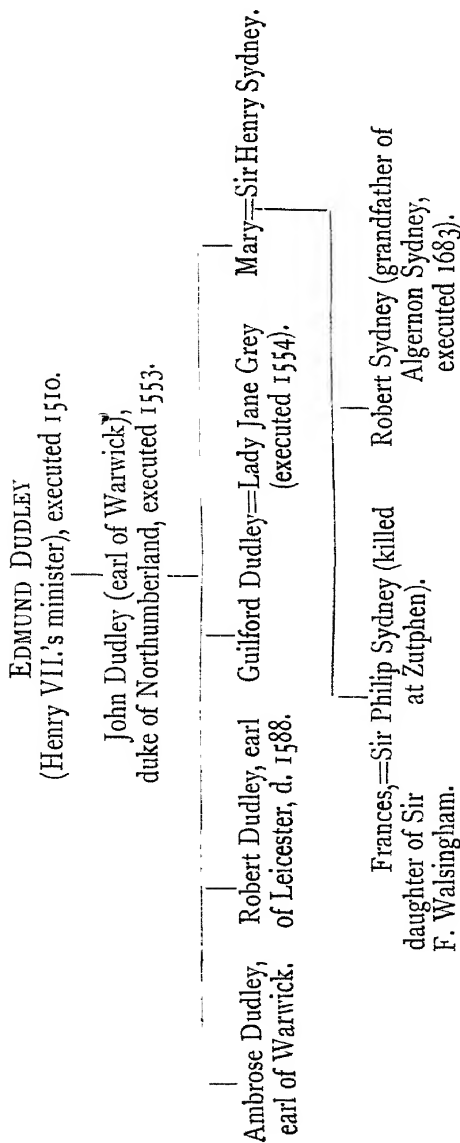
GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

I.—THE HOUSE OF TUDOR.

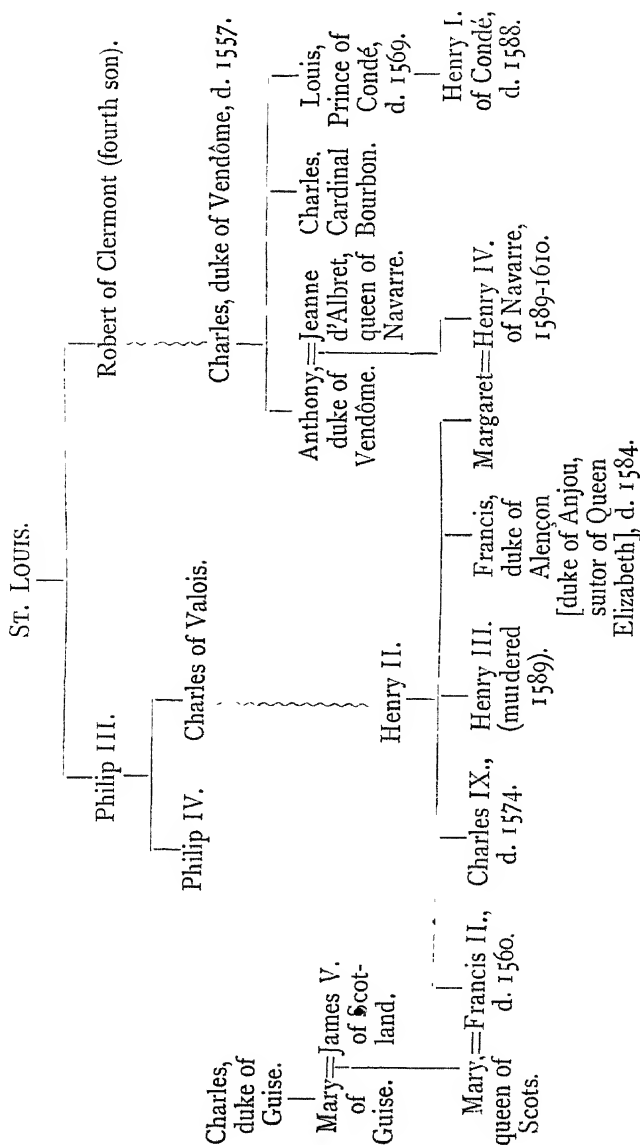
HENRY VII.



II.—THE DUDLEYS AND SYDNEYS.



III.—THE FRENCH ROYAL FAMILY.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

PART II

REVIEW OF AUTHORITIES

A SHORT review of the authorities used in the compilation of this book is here subjoined. The references in the text refer to the editions here mentioned.

1. VENETIAN STATE PAPERS, a most valuable collection, have been calendared in the Rolls Series by R. Brown. They consist for the most part of reports to the Venetian Government by its ambassadors, and are marked by great insight and accuracy of detail.
2. SPANISH STATE PAPERS are a similar collection, and have been also calendared for the Rolls Series.
3. There are also the LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, of which, up to now, nineteen volumes have been calendared in the Rolls Series.
4. ORIGINAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ENGLISH HISTORY are in three series (11 volumes). They were edited by Sir Henry Ellis, 1824-46.
5. JOHN STOW, the antiquary, wrote a 'Survey of London' and a 'Chronicle.' The Survey has been reprinted in Morley's Universal Library. (Routledge.)
6. RICHARD HAKLUVT, an Oxford scholar, made a great collection of voyages which he called 'The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Trafficks and Discoveries of the English Nation.' A fine edition has been lately published by Messrs. MacLehose, and from this our extracts are taken. A cheaper edition is in 'Everyman's Library.'

7. FOXE'S ACT AND MONUMENTS is a history of the early Protestants, and is, of course, written from the Protestant point of view, but it must be added that research has vindicated Foxe in the vast majority of his facts. Ed. Dr. Clarke. An abridged edition has been published by Routledge.
8. RAPHAEL HOLINSHED published a voluminous 'Chronicle' in 1578. Edition 1807-1808.
9. WILLIAM HARRISON wrote a 'Description of England,' which was appended to Holinshed's 'Chronicle.' The edition referred to in the text is in the Camelot Series. There is an abridged edition in the 'Scott Library.'
10. RICHARD GRAFTON published his 'Chronicle' about 1568.
11. DR. FURNIVALL published in 1868 a collection which he called 'Ballads from Manuscripts.' They often throw an instructive light on the popular feelings of the time.
12. FULKE GREVILLE, Lord Brooke, wrote a life of his friend Philip Sydney. The first edition was published only in 1652; the edition we have used is a reprint published by the Clarendon Press.
13. SIR JAMES MELVILLE'S 'Memoirs' (1535-1617), [ed. Bannatyne Club] gives an account of the author's experiences as Scotch ambassador at Elizabeth's court.
14. SIR THOMAS SMITH'S treatise 'De Republica Anglorum' has been recently edited for the Cambridge University Press by L. Alston, with a preface by Professor Maitland.
15. There are extracts, too, from such collections as 'Latimer's Sermons' [Everyman's Library], 'D'Ewe's Journals,' 'Townsend's Journal,' 'Somers' Tracts,' 'Commons' Journals,' and 'Statutes of the Realm' [Record Commission, 1810].

SOME USEFUL MODERN BOOKS.

I. GENERAL BOOKS ON PERIOD 1547-1603.

- BUSCH, W.: England under the Tudors. Tr. A. M. Todd, 1895.
- TRAILL and MANN: Social England. Vol. iii.
- CREIGHTON: Elizabeth. (Goupil Series, and unillustrated edition.)

- INNES : England under the Tudors. (Methuen.)
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 FROUDE, J. A. : History of England.
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 movements and other incidents of the 16th century.’
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1. *Army and Navy.*

- OPPENHEIM, H. : History of Administration of Royal Navy,
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DATE SUMMARY

PART II

[Figures in heavier type refer to number of extract.]

1. THE REFORMATION—THE PROTESTANT TRIUMPH AND EXCESS.

1547. Lord Hertford, the king's uncle, becomes duke of Somerset and Protector.

An ecclesiastical visitation is held throughout England; the abolition of images and the establishment of Protestantism are carried out with great violence.

Imprisonment of bishops Bonner and Gardiner (1).

Invasion of Scotland to secure the marriage proposed in 1543. Scottish defeat at Pinkie results in Mary, Queen of Scots, being sent to France.

Vagrancy (partly the result of the dissolution of the monasteries and the prevalence of sheep-farming) severely dealt with by Acts of Parliament (3).

1549. The Act of Uniformity (of church services) approves of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.

Somerset has his brother, lord Seymour, executed for treason.

Ket's rebellion in Norfolk, against the increasing practice on the part of the new nobility of enclosing common land (4).

Risings in Devon and Cornwall against the religious innovations.

- Somerset, in consequence of the rebellions, put down by John Dudley, earl of Warwick, a son of Henry VII.'s minister, resigns the Protectorate, and is succeeded by Warwick.
1550. Peace with Scotland and France ; Boulogne restored to France.
1551. Arrest of Somerset. Warwick becomes duke of Northumberland.
1552. Somerset executed.
Second Act of Uniformity, and issue of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., which is still more Protestant in tone than the first.
1553. Death of Edward VI., after making a will, on Northumberland's persuasion, in favour of Northumberland's daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, a great-granddaughter of Henry VII. (5 and Genealogical Table, p. 142).

2. THE ROMAN REACTION.

1553. Lady Jane Grey is proclaimed queen ; but Mary, daughter of Katherine of Aragon, is supported by the country, has Lady Jane arrested, and executes Northumberland.
- Parliament annuls all the religious changes of Edward VI.
1554. Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion (10), directed chiefly against the proposed marriage of the queen to Philip II of Spain. The rebellion fails, and its leader, together with Lady Jane Grey and her near relatives, is executed.
- Marriage of Mary and Philip.
England is restored to complete union with Rome, but the monastic lands remain in the possession of their present owners (8).
1555. Bishops Hooper, Ferrar, Ridley, Latimer, and others, are burnt for heresy. Some 300 people are burnt during the reign (9).
1556. Archbishop Cranmer burnt (11) ; he is succeeded by the papal legate, Cardinal Pole.
1557. Battle of St. Quentin, in which the English and Spanish defeat the French.

1558. Capture of Calais by the French under the duke of Guise (12).

Death of Queen Mary and accession of Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn.

3. THE RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT ON A NATIONAL BASIS.

1559. Act of Supremacy and Act of Uniformity practically bring back the position of things as they were under Edward VI. (13 and 15). The queen is in favour of a moderate policy, and is supported by Parker, whom she makes archbishop of Canterbury.
Treaty of Cateau Cambr sis ends the French war.
Elizabeth helps the Scottish Protestants against the regent, Mary of Guise.
1560. Death of the Scottish regent and withdrawal of the French troops.
1561. Queen Mary, after the death of her husband, Francis II. of France, returns to Scotland.
1562. Elizabeth helps the French Huguenots, who place Havre in her hands, but in the following war French parties unite to drive the English out (16).
1564. Parker enforces uniformity on the Puritans.
1565. Mary of Scotland marries her cousin, Henry Stuart, lord Darnley (Genealogical Table, p. 142).
1566. The beginning of the secession of Protestant sects from the Church of England—especially of the Brownists or Independents.
Murder of Rizzio, Queen Mary's secretary, by Darnley.
1567. Lord Darnley blown up at the Kirk o' Field; Mary forcibly married by the earl of Bothwell, who had been charged with Darnley's murder. She and the earl are defeated at Carberry Hill by insurgent nobles, and she has to abdicate in favour of her son James VI.; she is imprisoned in Lochleven Castle.
Shane O'Neill, an Ulster chief, finally defeated and slain.
1568. Mary escapes, but, again defeated at Langside, she takes refuge in England; Elizabeth, after investigation, places her in honourable captivity at Tutbury.

1569. The earls of Northumberland and Westmorland head a rebellion in favour of Mary and the old religion (22).
 1570. The Pope (Pius V.) declares Elizabeth deposed (23).
 1571. The introduction of papal bulls declared treason, while at the same time extreme Puritans are repressed.
 Discovery of the Ridolfi Plot to place Mary on the throne ; the duke of Norfolk is implicated, and executed in the following year.

4. THE STRUGGLE WITH SPAIN.

1572. The Dutch revolt from Spanish rule is secretly assisted by Elizabeth.
 The St. Bartholomew Massacre (24).
 1573. Failure of the earl of Essex's colonization of Antrim.
 1575. Elizabeth declines the Dutch rebels' offer of their throne. Two Anabaptists are burnt in England.
 1576. Grindal (a moderate Puritan) succeeds Archbishop Parker. Priests sent from the seminary at Douai to stir up opposition to the Government.
 Frobisher tries to find a North-West passage (26).
 1577. Drake starts on his voyage round the world.
 1579. Philip of Spain sends troops to Ireland to support Gerald, earl of Desmond.
 1580. A Jesuit mission under Campion and Parsons sent to England (26).
 1581. The duke of Anjou (brother of the French king), who two years previously, when duke of Alençon, had aspired to marry Elizabeth, visits England ; but the marriage proposals fall through.
 Penalties inflicted on Catholics for hearing mass. Campion is executed, and the Catholics, now deeply engaged in political plots, are severely treated for the rest of the reign.
 1583. Whitgift becomes archbishop of Canterbury ; he continues the attempt to enforce uniformity, and deals heavily with the Puritans.
 Throgmorton's plot in favour of Mary discovered ; Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, is dismissed for alleged complicity (31).

- Suppression of the Geraldin rebellion in Ireland (*vide sup.*, 1579).
 An English colony occupies Munster.
1584. A Bond of Association to protect Elizabeth, or to avenge her death, is approved by Parliament.
 Raleigh attempts to colonize Virginia (35).
1585. Raids by Drake on the Spanish settlements in America (36).
 Elizabeth openly helps the Netherlands in their revolt from Spain, and in the next year sends Leicester to their assistance.
1586. Battle of Zutphen and death of sir Philip Sydney (34 and Genealogical Table, p. 143). Leicester returns later in the year without accomplishing anything.
 The Babington Conspiracy, for Elizabeth's assassination and Mary's succession, discovered by Walsingham
 Mary is put upon her trial for knowledge and share in the plot (38).
1587. Execution of Mary (39).
 Destruction of the Spanish Fleet at Cadiz by Drake (40).
 Publication of the Martin Marprelate tracts, libellous puritanical works against Elizabeth and the bishops.
1588. Defeat of the Spanish Armada (43).
1589. The Huguenot leader becomes king of France as Henry IV. (Genealogical Table, p. 144).
1591. English alliance with Henry IV. against the Catholic League and Spain; troops sent to France in this and the following year.
 Sir Richard Grenville's fight with the Spaniards off the Azores (45).
1593. Execution of Penry, supposed author of the Marprelate tracts. Acts passed against both Puritans and Catholics.
1596. Expedition of Essex to Cadiz, and destruction of Spanish fleet.
1598. Death of Lord Burghley (William Cecil), Elizabeth's chief minister since 1572.
1600. The East India Company receives its charter.
1601. Execution of the earl of Essex, who, returning from an unsuccessful campaign in Ireland against O'Neil, earl

of Tyrone, and O'Connel, earl of Tyrconnel, in revolt since 1598, had taken arms against the Government.

Parliament obtains abolition of monopolies (49).

1602. Submission of the rebel Irish chiefs to Blount, Lord Mountjoy.

Passing of the First General Poor Law (48).

1603. Death of Elizabeth and accession of James VI. of Scotland.

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